THE BLACK MAYORS **EDWARD GREER**

THE NATION

NOVEMBER 23, 1974 *50 cents*

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The *Star* Against the Cops
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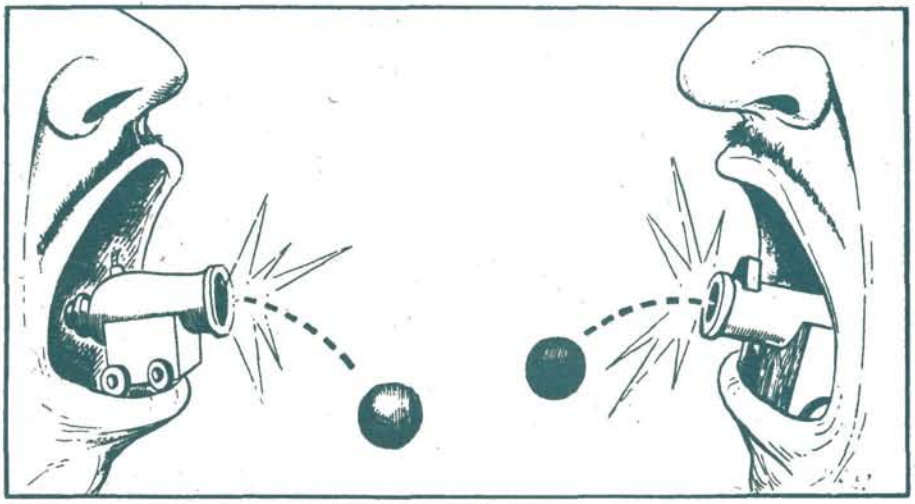

Vadillo, Ovaciones (Mexico)

THE STABILITY OF DETENTE
Herbert S. Dinerstein

GERMANY EDGES TO THE RIGHT
Herbert S. Levine

THE MARTYRDOM OF GUSTAV LANDAUER ***Paul Avrich***

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LETTERS

last words on the Left

Chicago, Ill.
The attack on Saul Alinsky by Don Rose and Richard Rothstein ["Citizen Action: The Working-Class Reformers," *The Nation,* Sept. 21] is not surprising. Blubbering theorists always wait until a guy is dead, then attack. They are afraid to fight in daylight, and when he's alive. As Saul would say, "tell them to go and perform an unnatural act." Anyone interested in the history of CAP as it historically happened may contact CAP, 2200 North Lincoln, or IAF, 528 North Michigan Ave., Chicago, Ill.

Edward T. Chambers, Executive Director
Industrial Areas Foundation (IAF)

Chicago, Ill.
As Mr. Chambers is only too well aware, I published comments critical of Alinsky, from a similar political viewpoint, not once but several times in my own newspaper, *Hyde Park-Kenwood Voices*—all while Alinsky was alive. The analysis of IAF in *The Nation* was scarcely an "attack," compared with my much stronger comments of the past. If Chambers has any specific inaccuracies he would like to call to our attention, I would be pleased to review them; as it is, I stand by the accuracy of the story and validity of the political analysis, even though such might not coincide with his. Finally, as Chambers is also well aware, the epithet "blubbering theorists" scarcely holds water when the targets have not only published theory but engaged in practical organizing on political, community and labor union levels with a tangible and documented record of success. I suspect that the real blubbering stems from the fact that IAF simply is not accustomed to criticism from the Left.

Don Rose

Chicago, Ill.
The Rose-Rothstein article on the emergence of the CAP Congress of Community Organizations . . . begins by finding a closet liberal inside every progressive leader and ends by strutting out the old saw about electing good clean pols instead of bad evil ones. If this is the ideology they think will help organize us lower-middle-class neighborhood folks, it's a good thing they are standing on the sidelines. . . .

Mary Lou Wolff, President
Citizens Action Program (CAP)

'inoperative'

Encino, Calif.
When reminded at a press conference that he had stated during his confirmation hearings on nomination to the Vice Presidency that the "American people would not stand for a President giving a pardon to a predecessor under investigation or criminal prosecution," Gerald Ford replied that it was a hypothetical question then and, as President, he now deals only in reality.

This raises some very real (not hypothetical) questions. Were all the questions asked of him at his confirmation hearings considered by Mr. Ford to be hypothetical? And, now that he is in the White House, will any or all of his answers become "inoperative" should he decide that they don't square with "reality"? If so, what is the point of a confirmation hearing? . . .

Nita Narr

Heller's hero

Pound Ridge, N.Y.
The quotes from Joseph Heller's *Something Happened* are unflinching, some are gems, yet the reviewer [Calvin Bedient, *The Nation,* Oct. 19] uses them for downgrading. The novel is declared "almost totally without dramatic im-

(Continued on page 532)

EDITORIALS

Some Bright Spots

The overall results of this year's elections are less interesting in some respects than are selected bright spots. In South Dakota the Republicans inadvertently gained a House seat (1st C.D.), but the gain was really the nation's. Larry Pressler, 32, Rhodes scholar, Harvard Law School, former aide to Henry Kissinger, was shunned by both the state and national GOP organizations. He raised about $35,000 and campaigned out of a farmhouse living room, covering his district in an old used car. He had no billboards or bumper strips, his mother wrote handwritten acknowledgments of contributions. Her son tried to shake 500 hands a day and apparently succeeded. In any case, he polled 55 per cent of the vote. Here are some of the issues he stressed: a $17 billion cut in defense spending, troop reductions in Europe, an end to the manufacture of nuclear arms, scrapping the B-1 bomber program, rollbacks in oil and fertilizer prices, and more rather than fewer economic controls. He was for impeachment as early as April and he protested President Ford's pardon. Would that the Republicans had come up with a few more such candidates!

Or consider D.W. Evans' victory over the Republican William G. Bray (6th C.D., Indiana), an eleven-term veteran. A young high school teacher, Evans spent about $14,000, took his campaign directly to the people, stressed economic issues, had little in the way of Democratic Party support and won by 8,000 votes. Of course Watergate was a factor but it is undeniable that this newcomer ran a most intelligent and graceful campaign. Then there is Dr. Robert Krueger's victory (21st C.D., Texas). A Ph.D. from Oxford, son of a local millionaire, Krueger had been nosed out of the presidency of the University of North Carolina at the last moment by Terry Sanford. An English professor, Krueger is hardly the type the 21st C.D. usually sends to Congress, and he had to offset his cultural background by yes-ing the voters outrageously on issues he did not consider important but which for them had emotional and symbolic importance. All the same, Krueger is a new member worth watching. Also worth noting among the Democratic victories: Joseph L. Fisher's defeat of Joel Broyhill (10th C.D., Virginia). Broyhill, a ten-term veteran, has been the chief spokesman on the powerful Ways and Means Committee for assorted business interests. In the same category: the defeat of Rep. William B. Widnall (7th C.D., New Jersey), a twelve-term veteran, by young Andrew Maguire, 35. Another 35-year-old, Timothy E. Wirth, beat four-term Donald Brotzman in Colorado's 2nd C.D. Brotzman is also a member of the Ways and Means Committee. Or note the return to the House of such able legislators as Andrew Jacobs (11th C.D., Indiana) and Richard Ottinger (24th C.D., New York), a former three-term member. Worth mention too is Patricia Schroeder's re-election in Colorado's 1st C.D. She was thought to be in danger of defeat. (Last week we commented on other significant gains made by women in this year's elections.) And of twelve members

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listed by Environmental Action as "the dirty dozen" for their negative votes on ecological issues, six were defeated, and two eliminated in primary contests.

On the ethnic-racial scoreboard: Jerry Apodaca is the first Mexican-American to be elected Governor of New Mexico since 1918. In Arizona, Raul H. Castro is the first of his ethnic background to be elected Governor. These victories have long-term significance: the Mexican-American vote represents a fast-growing and potentially powerful constituency. All major offices in Hawaii are now held by Japanese-Americans: Governor, U.S. Senator (the other Senator is of Chinese-American background), and two members of the House. California elected March Fong, a Chinese-American, Secretary of State; she is the first woman to hold the office. It sent Norman Y. Mineta, former mayor of San Jose, to Congress, the first mainland Nisei to be elected to that body. Blacks added one member in the House: Harold Ford, who defeated Nixon loyalist Dan H. Kuykendall, a three-term member, in Tennessee's 8th C.D. In all, ninety-seven black legislators now serve the South in Washington and in Dixie capitals; twelve years ago there were none. Chalk these victories up to the one-man, one-vote decision of the Supreme Court and the Voting Rights Act. Blacks also won an as yet uncounted number of county and city posts in the region. In Louisiana's 6th C.D. (Baton Rouge), 29-year-old John Le Caze, a radio announcer, defeated three-term, arch-reactionary John Rarick in the runoff following the primary. A white, Le Caze drew 8,951 votes in the eighteen largely black districts in the primary runoff; Rarick got eighty-one. At last count, *five* votes separate Le Caze and his Republican opponent and the issue will be taken to the courts. But it should be noted that Le Caze was kept out in the cold by the state Democratic Party and Sen. Russell Long. These victories—with Le Caze still in doubt—may be few in number, but special significance attaches to them; party affiliation tells only part of the story. The totals are important but so, too, are the bright spots.

Gerald Ford: Careless or Callous

Obviously he is not as bad for the country as Nixon was, but there is an ominous odor of Watergate in the mix-up over energy control involving Ford, John Sawhill, Andrew Gibson and sundry other members of administrations, past, present or prospective. Viewed broadly, the deposed Nixon and his successor seem to resemble each other in their reluctance to carry on the fight against inflation—"Public Enemy Number One"—when it threatens to get too close to major culprits: the price-fixers, riggers and gougers.

Consider first the treatment of Sawhill. He gave up a $100,000 job to work for the government. Without being asked, he offered a financial statement and volunteered information about his plans and policies to cope with the energy crisis. (And a crisis it is, although muted for the moment: we are buying Middle East and other foreign oil with *capital*, which the members of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries are piling up in unwieldy amounts.) No one, including Sawhill, had or has a solution for the basic problem, but Sawhill was honest and candid, heeded Common Cause's urging to publish the gist of his

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Subscription Price: One year $15; two years, $27.50. Add $1 per year postage for Canada and Mexico; $2 other foreign.

Change of Address: It is essential that subscribers ordering a change of address give four weeks' notice and provide their old as well as their new address. Please give Zip Code numbers for both addresses.

Manuscripts. All work submitted will be read by the editors. The magazine cannot, however, be responsible for the return of unsolicited manuscripts unless they are accompanied by stamped, self-addressed envelopes.

Information to Libraries: The Nation is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Book Review Index and the Public Affairs Information Service.

THE NATION

Volume 219
No. 17

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conversations with lobbyists, and advocated a gasoline tax as the only method of curbing imports of crude. (A countervailing tax rebate could take care of motorists whose jobs obliged them to drive to work.) The President vacillated, then came out flatly against mandatory conservation. No matter how often voluntary measures had failed before, Ford still prescribed that bland political nostrum. Simultaneously, various Administration potentates, headed by Interior Secretary Rogers C.B. Morton, were after Sawhill's scalp, and with Ford's acquiescence they got it.

Then it seems that a new energy administrator was so urgently needed that Andrew Gibson was selected by the President's chief talent scout, William Walker, and quickly okayed by the President. Gibson is an able and experienced executive with both a business and governmental background and, when it suits him, given to plain speaking. He publicly referred to the Arab and other Middle East oil barons as "those bastards" and called Exxon, the world's largest oil company, "arrogant." But Gibson had to be confirmed by the Senate, and shortly it became known that he had a contractual arrangement with his former employer, Interstate Oil Transport Company, which was to pay him an annuity of $88,000 for ten years. This was on top of earlier severance pay, and the total amounted to a round million. Interstate is half-owned by Cities Service Company, a big oil company. Thus, while working for the government, Gibson would still be intimately connected with the oil business, and though he might have the best of intentions, Senators who were being asked to pass on his confirmation began to express doubts.

Ron Nessen, the Presidential press secretary, tried to get his boss off the spot. He explained to the reporters that Sawhill had been booted out so hastily that there had been no time to run a proper check on Gibson. Nessen expressed this unhappy occurrence in politer language, but he was not greeted with applause. The necessary check would follow, he assured the press.

Where does this leave the President? Morton could not stand Sawhill, so Ford couldn't stand him either, although the Senate had confirmed him by 87 to 4, while Richard M. Nixon was still struggling with Watergate. In October Ford was so busy campaigning (to no purpose) that he didn't know very much about a man whom he was appointing to a crucial office. Nessen was kept in the dark. If a delicatessen were run in this fashion, it would be hard put to remain solvent. Those jokes Lyndon Johnson used to make about Gerald Ford's intellectual capacity are beginning to sound serious. But what is more disconcerting is that in a post-Watergate atmosphere, in which it is critically important to restore confidence in governmental decision making, particularly on a matter as vital as energy policy, Ford could have been so careless about screening Gibson. Or—if he knew of the connection, as some reports indicate—that he could have been so blind to the implications. The evidence suggests that the Gibson nomination was finally withdrawn not because Ford sensed its impropriety but because he realized, in the wake of the election, that it could not be confirmed. On the face of it, the facts show gross carelessness or an insensitivity to conflicts of interest as abysmal as anything that emerged in the Nixon years.

New England's Better Vision

Throughout the New England autumn the local press has been recording the icy blasts of federal energy officials who are dismayed that this region still has no oil refining capacity, but does have many citizens who don't mind that a bit. Only a few days ago former Federal Energy Administration boss John Sawhill told a writer for one Maine newspaper that—come interminable zero-degree weather and crippling fuel bills—he would be unable to sympathize with people responsible for the dearth of oil refinery projects along their Atlantic coast. Of course, John Sawhill would also have been as helpless to prevent New Englanders from using petroleum products as they are to stop his darling New Jersey from consuming the huge quotas of New England lumber, codfish and potatoes that New Jersey falls so dismally short of producing on its own.

New England hunkers down for this winter with oil refinery plans brooding all about them, plans tied to the use of Persian Gulf crude. To the Northeast, the Pittston Company wants to build a refinery in Eastport, Me. Aristotle Onassis' Olympic Refineries gives indication that it may be ready for a comeback try along the New Hampshire shore, about 200 miles to the south. And at the southern Maine coastal town of Kennebunk a consortium of foreign and American corporations called the New England Energy Co. wants to build a gigantic 250,000-barrels-a-day refinery, supplied by a crude oil pipeline large enough to turn southern Maine into a refinery alley. In candid moments, the sponsors of all these projects will cheerfully admit that the world's known oil reserves will last somewhere between eleven and thirty years. Many economists say that meanwhile the United States will lose the foreign exchange capability necessary to sustain projected oil consumption levels.

People like Sawhill and Rogers Morton and Frank Ikard are fond of extolling the potential of solar and tidal and wind power, then dismissing these in the next breath as impractical, Buck Rogers concepts whose large-scale deployment will not be possible for two or three decades. In reality, that is a highly plastic projection, fashioned less by fears of technological gaps than by political considerations. The entire energy picture—and the multitude of political and economic relations which grow out of it—would be disrupted greatly if scarcity were erased from the supply and demand equation. Figuring out how to harness the sun is one thing, but discovering how to sell its rays is quite another. U.S. oil companies simply do not know how to market non-exhaustive energy sources, and even if they did, their present operations are too enormously profitable to make different operations "practical" at this time.

Throughout New England there are those who look upon oil refineries as boons to progress, but there are also an astonishing number of very tough people who bitterly oppose them, not merely because they would destroy some of the nation's most spectacular scenery, nor because they offer minimal employment benefits to balance their threat to the tourist and fishing industries; not only because they take a long-term toll of the physical health of nearby residents, subject fragile communities

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to the boom-and-bust cycles which always follow huge construction projects, and burden small towns with absentee owners.

The Lord knows, those are reasons enough for resisting the construction of refineries here, but as the pressure from oil companies and federal energy officials mounts, a new and essentially political concern is emerging to buttress local resistance. It has to do with the undefended and indefensible timetables the Sawhills and Mortons and Ikards assign to deployment of alternative, renewable energy sources.

Increasingly, New England's anti-refinery groups are asserting a political obligation to do nothing to compromise the impetus to develop alternative energy sources. The feeling is that the shocking mortality of New England refinery proposals will promote the speedy development of energy policies which recognize the lotus-eating impracticality of massive new oil developments. New England is becoming the geographic cutting edge of this new recognition, and if New Englanders continue to resist refinery development, the long-term rewards will outstrip any interim strains.

MYRON W. LEVIN
The *Star Press*, Kennebunk, Me.

Antitrust and Inflation

President Ford's call for vigorous antitrust enforcement to fight inflation is timely, but it is doubtful that he is fully aware (*a*) of the indifference shown by some officials of his Administration to the problem or (*b*) the promising initiatives some agencies had already set in motion before his call for action. On August 14 Secretary of Agriculture Butz was quoted as saying that charges of price-fixing against two giant food chains—Safeway and A&P—had been investigated but could not be substantiated. A short time later a California jury awarded $32 million in damages to six cattlemen who had charged price-fixing by A&P and some of the other chains. At the same August 14th session Mr. Butz was asked what he thought about the activities of the National Broiler Marketing Association. His response was that the broiler industry was highly concentrated, vertically integrated, but also competitive. Yet on October 21 New York State Atty. Gen. Louis Lefkowitz brought a treble damage antitrust action against the association and thirty-seven of its members, charging a price-fixing conspiracy dating back to 1970. The suit states that sales by the defendants totaled more than $600 million, or about 50 per cent of such chickens sold in the United States in 1971. Mr. Lefkowitz states that New York State annually purchases approximately a million pounds of chicken broilers and parts for its own hospitals and institutions. In what sense is this industry "competitive"?

But if Mr. Butz is blind to price-fixing, other federal officials have shown commendable initiative in efforts to stop it. High on this list is Lewis Engman, the 35-year-old chairman of the FTC, a protégé, surprisingly enough, of John Ehrlichman, but a product of the University of Michigan (economics), Harvard Law School, and that incubator of innovators, the London School of Economics. For one thing, Mr. Engman takes a jaundiced view of such regulatory agencies as the CAB, the Federal Maritime Commission and the Interstate Commerce Commission. By allowing price-fixing and waste, these agencies, he estimates, have cost consumers between $8 billion and $16 billion a year. FTC investigations directed by Mr. Engman, have shown significant results. Bakers in Seattle were forced to stop or abate price-fixing which had cost consumers an estimated $3.5 million annually. Similar action against producers of the antibiotic tetracycline forced a 75 per cent drop in price, for an estimated national saving of $60 million. Mr. Engman is also testing out a theory of "shared monopoly"—that is, where several producers can rig prices just as effectively as a monopoly. After a period of seventy years and 150 mergers, four of the largest producers of cereals now control 90 per cent of the breakfast cereal market. By means of saturation brand-name advertising and product promotion "significant entry into the market has been blocked for thirty years." Also the FTC has gone after eight large oil companies with assets totaling $85 billion and sales exceeding $60 billion annually, charging them with maintaining a "noncompetitive market structure." In the first seventeen months that Engman has chaired the FTC, this once nearly moribund agency has filed eighteen major antitrust complaints. It has also been pressing the 500 largest manufacturing companies to file reports showing profits, sales, assets, research and development costs and promotion and advertising costs for each "line of business" in which they are engaged.

This same "line of business" approach is being tested by the Justice Department in its first industry-by-industry investigation of possible price and production collusion by companies that are supposed to be competitive. Under investigation are such industries as steel, automobiles, chemicals, pharmaceuticals, aluminum, copper and lead. Investigators contend that by applying sophisticated methods of economic analysis, they can spot price-fixing from existing information.

So if President Ford wants to use antitrust as a tool to fight inflation he should give full backing to the agencies that, without waiting for Presidential direction, saw the connection and took appropriate action. And by the same token, he should replace such officials as Mr. Butz who continue to show a tolerance for price-rigging in all its forms. The President should also press for stiffer antitrust penalties. Recently eight dye manufacturers—the largest in the industry, including DuPont, Allied Chemical and American Cyanamid, controlling 75 per cent of the industry's $400 million output—pleaded "no contest" to a criminal antitrust charge of conspiring to fix prices. The maximum that each of these corporations can be fined is $50,000, which has about the same impact as a parking ticket on an out of state car. The Sherman Act was passed in 1890, but the first criminal penalty against corporation executives was not invoked until 1959 and to date only thirty-eight business executives have been sentenced to jail for terms that have rarely exceeded thirty days. In the last four years, nineteen have been sentenced for a total of twenty-nine months in jail, so enforcement attitudes are stiffening—a bit. As a first step toward serious antitrust enforcement, maximum fines should be increased to, say, $500,000 for individual executives and $1 million for corporate offenders, and stiffer jail sentences should be imposed.

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Wising Up?

Casino gambling had been favored to win in New Jersey. It lost. In a surprise referendum, the voters turned it down 3 to 2. Not even close.

Legalized gambling has been sold by the most unscrupulous tactics political advertising could conjure up. The Federal Trade Commission, hardly a Procrustean body, would be on the tail of any private enterprise which sought business in this fashion. Nevertheless the legalized gambling lobbies have in the last decade added to pari-mutuel betting at race tracks thirteen state-run lotteries. Three states permit off-track betting, and of course Nevada is the mecca of casino gambling. Legalized gambling has been the legislator's panacea for the voter's resistance to higher taxes. People will gamble in any case, the politicians argue: here we have a relatively painless way for the state to raise money. As for the morality of it, don't the states, and the federal government too, derive revenue from taxes on tobacco and alcohol? As a clinching argument, the sponsors of legalized gambling say that it will transfer money from organized crime to the support of education and other worthy causes.

Every one of these clichés sounds convincing to the thoughtless voter, and not one has merit. Legal and illegal gambling exist side by side and each promotes the other. A recent National Science Foundation study reached the conclusion that state lotteries have very limited impact on the numbers game. Until the reverse of November 5, New Jersey, which has a declining state lottery, had been planning to go into the numbers racket as well. Several other states are playing with that idea.

Except in Las Vegas, which is a special case, none of the legalized gambling schemes fulfills the promise of sudden wealth for the state. Revenue tends to decline after the novelty wears off, while expenses mount. New York State is spending some $2 million annually to promote betting, while New York City's Off-Track Betting Corporation spends about $800,000 to keep the suckers lining up to lose their money. The ratio of money taken in to money disbursed reminds one of those charity rackets that support mostly their own officials and employees.

According to *Consumer Reports*, it costs on the average no more than 2¢ per $1 to collect conventional taxes while lottery expenses usually run from 25¢ to 40¢ per $1 collected by the state. The odds offered the gambler could hardly be worse; illegal gambling is probably more efficient and gives the gambler a better break. State-run lotteries are popular with politicians because they not only fool the voters but also establish still another source of jobs and political patronage.

A pro-gambling climate is created and those who can least afford it lose the most. The New Jersey referendum was promoted to legalize casino gambling, with Atlantic City as a start. It is no secret that Atlantic City, though still claiming to be the country's second largest convention city is, in an economic sense, sinking into the ocean. The only two New Jersey counties which voted for the referendum were Hudson and, naturally, Atlantic itself.

After a year-long study by a special task force, the Twentieth Century Fund and the Fund for the City of New York published "Easy Money," an adverse report on legalized gambling. Mayor Kenneth Gibson of Newark stated the case in the broadest terms and the fewest words. All levels of government, he said, are supposed to provide services to help people, not to run casinos.

Perhaps one can read in the New Jersey referendum a maturing of public opinion on the daydream nonsense about gambling as the solution for the problems of local or state government. But it is a recurring dream and it will pop up somewhere else before long. *The Nation* has consistently opposed all such proposals over the years, and, win or lose, will continue to do so.

The Automated Supermarket

Since about the mid-1960s, some of the big electronic companies have been working on automated check-out systems for supermarkets. An RCA system has been field-tested for the past year in the Cincinnati area, with reportedly good results, and there is little question that electronics will revolutionize point-of-sale transactions, not only in supermarkets but in other big retail outlets. With an estimated 250,000 mechanical cash registers headed for replacement, IBM has recently entered the field; other big suppliers are, besides RCA, the Singer Company, National Cash Register and Pitney-Bowes.

In supermarkets, present practice is for the checker to glance at the price sticker on each item, ring it up on a mechanical cash register, total the prices and provide a receipt while bagging the entire purchase. Comes the revolution, the checker will move the items across an optical scanner which will read a standardized code unintelligible to both the checker and the customer, an electronic cash register will display the price of each item, add them up, provide the receipt and even make change automatically.

Among the advantages claimed are rapid movement of the purchaser line, elimination of errors, quick verification of credit rating by a central computer if the customer pays by check, and more profitable operation of the store because the computer will tell the manager moment by moment which items are selling and which are not, thus enabling him to utilize his inventory and shelf space to best advantage. In effect, the computer will take charge of store routine and supply the information for managerial decisions. Net savings of about $150 million annually before taxes are estimated for the 7,800 large supermarkets which will be switching to electronic systems.

Part of the savings *may* be passed on to the customer, who *may* get faster service, but the stores will have the option of cutting out some of the check-out counters and firing some of the checkers. The chief obstacle to public acceptance, however, is that the price of each item will be marked on a placard on the shelf, and not on the can or package. Consumer-oriented publications [see Bill Nigut's report in *Media & Consumer*, September] recommend that consumers insist on price-marked packages, even if the expected savings are thereby reduced. Moreover, small stores may find themselves at a still greater disadvantage vis-à-vis the big chains, not only in food but in general merchandising. At this stage, the ultimate effects can only be guessed at—but for sure the electronic check-out is coming to your friendly neighborhood supermarket.

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INDIANAPOLIS SPECTACULAR

THE *STAR* AGAINST THE COPS

RICHARD E. CADY

Indianapolis

On September 12, here in the nation's eleventh largest city, the hallways of the criminal courts section of the City-County Building were streaming with spectators. Indictments had been returned by the Marion County grand jury, climaxing a prolonged and controversial investigation of police department corruption triggered by a series of articles in the Indianapolis *Star*, largest newspaper in the state.

Television lights were ready as courtroom hangers-on watched the elevators for the defendants to appear. No one would be surprised when three indicted policemen showed up with their attorney, but they were not the center of attention. Rather, all eyes were on two reporters for the *Star*, members of the newspaper's investigative team, on hand for an unusual and startling appearance before a judge: to surrender on an indictment charging that on March 12, 1974, they had "unlawfully, knowingly and feloniously" conspired with a police informant, one Larry Wayne Keen, to bribe a policeman.

The newsmen who were unwittingly changed from the accusers to the accused were William E. Anderson, 48, and Richard E. Cady, 34. The announcement of the indictment and their subsequent surrender, followed by appearances at the Marion County jail for fingerprinting and photographing, was yet another bizarre twist in a year-long series of events that, in the eyes of some of the journalism community at least, shaped up as a classic post-Watergate confrontation between a free press and entrenched public officials.

One of the immediate effects of the arrests was national publicity for the city at a time uncomfortably close to the November 5th general election in which the Mayor, Republican Richard Lugar, hoped to unseat three-term U.S. Sen. Birch Bayh. Lugar had spent months shedding his once helpful reputation as President Nixon's "favorite Mayor" and was riding a campaign keyed to the idea that Indianapolis had climbed out of the urban doldrums during his first term. Bayh, a Democrat with strong labor support, was the early favorite.

Throughout the spring and summer months the *Star* had run stories about Lugar's police department, and the Mayor had maintained his position that the truth would come out through the FBI and through grand jury investigations conducted by the county prosecutor, Noble Pearcy, one of the engineers of the GOP renaissance in Marion County in 1966. Another kingmaker from that period is L. Keith Bulen, the Republican national committeeman for Indiana, former county chairman, and manager of Lugar's campaign.

The reporters' indictment came less than two months before the election. And with it came charges by the *Star* that the newsmen had been framed; that they were themselves victims of a conspiracy. Front-page editorials demanded the appointment of a special prosecutor to investigate corruption, the indictment and, perhaps, Pearcy himself.

This chronicle of charge and counter-charge, of indictment and counter-indictment, began last February 24 when the *Star*, an independent conservative newspaper whose columns featured Barry Goldwater, Dr. Max Rafferty and the Worry Clinic of Dr. George Crane, devoted nearly the whole front page of its Sunday edition to stories declaring that the nationally recognized 1,100-member Indianapolis Police Department was widely infected with corruption.

The charges in the first stories and dozens that followed went beyond traditional areas of corruption, though prostitution, gambling, bootlegging and narcotics were covered. There were claims that detectives took money to fix cases; that political figures and vice policemen were involved in some of the county's twenty-five massage parlors; that links had been discovered between policemen and a fencing operation; that policemen were guilty of thefts, tavern shakedowns, abuses in handling departmental funds, disappearance of confiscated weapons from the department's property storage room, the selling of parking "franchises" and more.

"Involvement in corruption by dozens of Indianapolis policemen is not limited to taking money, but has led some members of the department into criminal activity," the first story alleged. It also made clear that none of the information would be turned over to County Prosecutor Pearcy. The *Star* made a further and perhaps more singular claim: that twenty-eight policemen had secretly assisted the newspaper in gathering its information. Numerous policemen were quoted, but not named. The *Star* later explained that it was withholding identities because no policemen had been accused in a court of law, and their accusers could not be identified—not now, anyway—for fear that, if a whitewash ensued, the men who had broken the pervasive code of silence that governs relationships between policemen would risk their jobs and, in some cases, their lives.

Indeed, some of the policemen assisting the *Star* had long been harassed for their futile efforts to seek reform from within the department. The team of reporters—Anderson, Cady and Harley Bierce, 33, assisted for several months by photographer Jerry Clark—had been followed, warned, threatened once, and secretly recorded by hidden tapes. But it had been worth it; even in New York City, few policemen had come forward to help after Serpico talked. The *Star* had twenty-eight, and later would double the number.

The newspaper revealed that, fearing a local whitewash, it had sought federal assistance. Cady and City Editor Lawrence Connor had visited Justice Department officials on November 28, 1973, and an FBI in-

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vestigation under the aegis of the Chicago Strike Force had ensued in January. The February 1974 headlines were the result of undercover work begun in August 1973. The reporters were initially given several weeks to check out a series of rumors about police and political corruption; then, as the information came in, slowly at first, they received additional time. The team concept was new at the *Star*, but it seemed to work well. Cady was a former assistant city editor and had worked at the Detroit *News*. Bierce, a veteran of Vietnam, was a former science and medicine writer. Anderson, an experienced police reporter, had excellent police contacts. The team seemed to have good balance: Bierce had once labored as a volunteer for the county Republicans; Anderson had worked as a press aide for a former Democratic mayor.

As the reporters learned more and more about the secret activities within the department, they adopted several procedures to protect themselves. Whenever possible, they taped conversations. They avoided one-on-one meetings. If any meeting appeared to involve possible physical danger they made sure that one of their new police friends was not far away. And they offered confidentiality to their sources, certain that Indiana's shield law, one of the best in the nation, would protect them when needed. Even so, they eventually identified in the newspaper three of the cooperating policemen, with their permission.

The stories produced a flood of phone calls and letters, many providing further information. Radio and television outlets, caught by surprise, talked about the allegations. Police spokesmen defended the department. On March 7, Mayor Lugar appointed a seven-member commission to examine the administration of the department. "This is a city, in my judgment, that wants a clean, honest setup," the Mayor said the next day, as he announced the creation of a special police "truth squad" to investigate their brother officers. "We have our work cut out for us," Lugar warned. In short order, Lugar replaced the chief of police, his assistant, and the director of public safety. The new chief was Kenneth Hale, a retired Secret Service agent who had been seeking the Republican nomination for sheriff. "I won't stand for anything less than complete honesty," Hale declared.

Meanwhile, the grand jury was calling witnesses, and in West Virginia the FBI arrested a long-time Indianapolis brothel operator, Mary Martin, who allegedly had paid off dozens of policemen, either in money or free sex. The grand jury also issued a cryptic report advising that it was turning over to the FBI information that unnamed newsmen "have contacted known law violators seeking to have them involve policemen solely for the purpose of providing news stories whereby possible intrusion of the civil rights of totally innocent policemen may be involved."

A few days later, Cady, Anderson and Bierce were summoned to testify, without prosecutors being present. No mention was made in the secret proceedings of any civil rights violations, and when the jury panel's three-month term ended in March, it returned no indictments, but called for a continuing investigation. By then, the heads of the narcotics and vice squads had been replaced.

Behind the scenes, the federal investigation had begun to slow down. Strike force attorneys said it was a question of not having sufficient federal statutes to cover violations. However, there were other developments: Hale fired the head of the police finance branch; the blue-ribbon committee called for "sweeping" changes, particularly the eradication of political interference in police affairs; the FBI gave Hale and County Prosecutor Pearcy a 46-page report containing "leads"; Mary Martin was returned to Indianapolis; a deputy chief was demoted. And the *Star* began a nine-part series that described corruption patterns in other cities and suggested strongly that in-house police investigations do not work. Two policemen were indicted by the grand jury for the alleged robbery of poker players during a vice raid. At the same time, the jury issued a report praising the prosecutor's office, and the *Star* disclosed that the report had been written by Pearcy's chief aide, Leroy New.

The next phase included Mary Martin's testimony before the grand jury and presentation to Hale and Pearcy of a 130-page FBI report on corruption. Meantime, the *Star* began a new series of stories covering the prosecutor's office and contending—based on interviews with seventy-eight former grand jurors—that grand jury manipulation was common practice. One story, which was to prove particularly significant, said that the prosecutor's office had attempted to discredit *Star* reporters and harked back to the "civil rights" allegations of March.

The story explained how reporters had met with one Larry Wayne Keen in March. Keen had provided information about a sensational murder, but failed to convince the reporters that he had not made it up. So, Keen had gone to a policeman and told him the reporters were pressuring Keen to "set up" the policeman. The officer had gone to the prosecutor, and a meeting was arranged where Keen passed the policeman an envelope. The reporters observed the meeting "but discarded the incident as a routine meeting, since Keen had told reporters he was an informant" for the police and "Keen obviously was unreliable."

Within two weeks, Cady and Anderson were subpoenaed back to the grand jury, where they were asked to sign waivers of immunity purporting to cover the Fifth Amendment (self-incrimination) only. Their attorneys read the waiver and advised that it would also apply to the First Amendment and shield law; the reporters then refused to sign. They offered to testify without waivers, but Pearcy said no, claiming that *all* witnesses had been asked to sign waivers. The *Star* found five who had not been asked.

Rumors that Cady and Anderson were to be indicted started with broad hints from Leroy New in a TV interview. On September 12, a solemn grand jury fulfilled New's prophecy. The specific charge: that the pair had conspired with Keen to give the policeman money so that the policeman would not press charges against Keen. Robert Early, managing editor of the *Star*, said the indictment would "put a secret smile on the lips of every corrupt person who hears about it." He pleaded: "We will not be intimidated."

Pearcy's office was jammed the next day for his first press conference after the indictment. He declared that the *Star* had printed "smoke," and boasted that the case against Cady and Anderson was "solid." It had originated

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in the police department, he added, though Hale denied it. "Noble Pearcy don't [*sic*] indict, the grand jury indicts," Pearcy proclaimed, implying that the reporters had been judged by their fellow citizens. The FBI reports were insufficient for indictments of policemen, Pearcy added, and he had withstood newspaper pressure to indict innocent persons.

In rebuttal, Early lashed into Pearcy's claim that the grand jury had studied the newspaper's evidence and found it wanting. He refuted the prosecutor's statement that reporters had taken the Fifth Amendment. The newspaper had the evidence to support its statement, but still would not give it to Pearcy, Early said. "Everything that has happened has confirmed—not disparaged—our reports."

Sensing that something unusual was happening in Indianapolis, the journalism community began calling for a special investigation. The cry was sounded first by the Associated Press Managing Editors Association and the American Society of Newspaper Editors. Lugar replied with "no comment"; Bayh was less guarded. He wrote Atty. Gen. William Saxbe asking for a civil rights investigation. The Reporters Committee for Freedom of the Press sent a similar letter.

As the furor grew, the investigative team's photographer, Clark, was summoned to the grand jury. Asked questions about the envelope incident involving Keen and the policeman, Clark refused to answer. A petition seeking to jail Clark for contempt was filed. Meantime, the grand jury issued its final report and said it could not substantiate widespread police corruption or any "connection" with the prosecutor's office. The *Star* carried its own report, based on interviews with witnesses, saying the jury was "directed carefully to avoid getting to the truth." It also revealed that Lugar's blue-ribbon panel had not answered an August request for formation of an independent commission similar to the Knapp Commission in New York.

Pearcy made clear, as the November 5th election came nearer, what his political strategy was. "The Indianapolis *Star* is my opponent," he declared. He emphasized that all the grand jury testimony had been reviewed by the FBI. And, on October 3, Lugar wrote a letter asking Saxbe to review the testimony to see if the grand jury had been manipulated. But Lugar had no comment when, less than a week later, the *Star* quoted the FBI and strike force officials as saying that little of the testimony had been turned over to them.

In the community, the controversy was a daily topic. Pearcy's opponent, James Kelley, promised that, if elected, he would appoint a special prosecutor. Pearcy spoke at all available forums, sounding the theme that it was a fight between the *Star* and a man "responsible to the people only." On October 11 it was revealed that Lugar's campaign manager, Bulen, was under FBI investigation for possible violations of the Hobbs Act. Only days earlier, Bulen had announced plans to retire at the end of the year. He issued a scathing denunciation of the *Star*, saying he was the victim of a "hate" campaign. Lugar said he was "weary of endless innuendos without direct accusations, without direct confrontation."

Five days before the November 5th election, Clark went to court and scored a victory: the judge dismissed the petition against the photographer, ruling that the question was moot since the grand jury which heard Clark had ended its term. The decision presaged startling election results. Lugar was defeated by Bayh; the Mayor made a strong showing in the state but failed to carry his home county. Kelley swamped Pearcy by one of the largest margins in Marion County history.

The reporters' indictment is continuing in the legal processes, with the possibility that Kelley, when he takes office on January 1, will order a review of the matter. Meanwhile, the *Star* contends that the reporters, in the course of their attempt to uncover an incredibly entrenched scheme of corruption, themselves became targets of a conspiracy. The accusation, Early said, is that "they conspired with a police informer to bribe a police lieutenant for whom the informer worked. Why? So the police lieutenant would not prosecute the informer on a burglary charge? It doesn't make sense." More ironies lie ahead. □

FROM BRANDT TO STRAUSS

GERMANY EDGES TO THE RIGHT

HERBERT S. LEVINE

Munich

On May 7, Willy Brandt resigned as chancellor of the German Federal Republic. On June 9, voters in the state of Lower Saxony were able to react to the new national leadership of Helmut Schmidt in their scheduled local elections. The Social Democrats (SPD) lost ground, but not much, and some observers guessed that Schmidt had reversed the trend of serious Social Democratic losses in local elections that had characterized the last months of the Brandt government. But it was generally agreed that the Lower Saxony elections had come too soon after Schmidt's assumption of the chancellorship to be a reliable guide to his popularity. The real test, it was felt, would come on October 27, when the states of Hessen (including the metropolis of Frankfurt) and Bavaria chose their parliaments. That day has now passed, and the voters of those two states, representing approximately one-fourth of the population of the Federal Re-

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public, have rendered their judgment. Neither the SPD nor its liberal coalition partner, the Free Democratic Party (FDP), can take much comfort in the results.

Superficially, the elections produced little change. The Christian Social Union (CSU) of Franz Josef Strauss, the Bavarian partner of the national Christian Democratic Union (CDU), will continue to control the Bavarian parliament in Munich. The SPD-FDP coalition in Hessen retains its control of the state parliament in Wiesbaden, since the Hessian CDU failed to gain a majority, despite an impressive showing. There will therefore be no change in the federal council, the upper house of the German parliament, which is composed of representatives from the several states, nor any significant change in the composition of the governments of Bavaria and Hessen themselves. But a closer look at the figures shows a marked turn to the right. This is obvious even from a rough breakdown of the election results, as compared with results from the state elections of 1970 and the federal elections of 1972. In the table, percentages of the 1974 vote are followed, in parentheses, by the numbers of seats won by each party in the state parliament.

Party	*State Elections* 1974 %	*Federal Elections* 1972 %	*State Elections* 1970 %
Bavaria			
CSU	62.1 (132)	55.1	56.4
SPD	30.2 (64)	37.8	33.3
FDP	5.2 (8)	6.1	5.5
Others	2.5 (0)	.9	4.6
Hessen			
CDU	47.3 (53)	40.3	39.7
SPD	43.2 (49)	48.5	45.9
FDP	7.4 (8)	10.2	10.1
Others	2.0 (0)	1.1	4.2

The figures show that the remarkable Brandt victory margin for the SPD-FDP national coalition in 1972 has disappeared. But even these results hide the full extent of the disaster for the coalition parties, particularly in Bavaria. In Hessen, although the CDU replaced the SPD as the largest party in parliament, the SPD-FDP coalition was able to cling to power by its fingernails. In Bavaria, the shipwreck of the Left and Center was complete. German elections are conducted according to a complicated system that combines direct election of candidates from individual electoral districts with the election of at-large members to produce a distribution of seats in the state parliament roughly equivalent to the percentages of the popular vote for the several parties (excluding those that failed to draw 5 per cent of the vote). Thus the effect of the election on the composition of the Bavarian parliament was not all that great; the CSU simply increased its dominating share of the 204 seats from 124 to 132, while the SPD lost six seats and the FDP lost two. But had the election been held according to the system of single-member districts in use in Britain and the United States, the results would have been very different. Of the 104 election districts in Bavaria, 100 produced CSU pluralities and majorities, and only four fell, by small pluralities, to the SPD. As in the past, the FDP failed to win a single district.

Particularly significant was the failure of the SPD to hold its urban strongholds. In Munich, where the SPD has run the city hall since the first postwar free elections, the rout was total. The city government continues in the hands of the SPD, since the city council seats will not be at stake until 1976, but the eleven parliamentary electoral districts in Munich, every one of which went to the SPD in 1970, all fell to the CSU on October 27. Only in the Nuremberg area did the SPD keep some hold on its normal urban constituency, narrowly retaining three of the five seats at stake in the city, and the one seat representing the neighboring town of Fuerth.

Now that the results are in, the post-mortems are occupying politicians all over the country. Not only the losers will have to reckon with political consequences; the shifting of the power balance within the CDU/CSU is apt to be considerable. Above all, the elections are one major step in the long political comeback of Franz Josef Strauss, party chairman of the CSU. When the *Spiegel* affair broke twelve years ago, Strauss lost his position in national politics, apparently forever. The bulky Defense Minister with his anti-Communist rhetoric and his professional Bavarianism disappeared for a time from the public stage, disgraced by his authoritarian and illegal actions against an independent journal, and by his willingness to participate in a cover-up before the federal parliament. But in conservative, Catholic, anti-Communist Bavaria, Strauss remained a hero. He was able to regain absolute control over his own CSU, and he never seriously denied his hope of somehow making the leap back into national politics. His comeback has been slow and carefully planned. Significantly, he has left the post of Bavarian premier to his willing ally Alfons Goppel. Strauss has no intention of ruining his comeback by involving himself prematurely in the responsibilities and dangers of government. But election propaganda and his own rigorous speaking schedule made it clear that a vote for the CSU was a vote for Strauss. His program consisted, as it always has, of little more than a continual harping on the Red Menace. And with his thumping, beer-hall oratory he was able to produce the greatest victory any party has ever won in a state election in the Federal Republic.

Even before the election, Strauss challenged the CDU leadership in Bonn, playing openly with the idea of expanding the CSU into a national party. That was probably no more than an attention-getting ploy to demonstrate the seriousness of his political aspirations. Strauss would hardly be prepared to accept the inevitable consequence of national expansion—the appearance of the CDU on his own Bavarian turf. More important was Strauss's suggestion that Helmut Kohl, until recently the most obvious Christian Democratic candidate for the chancellorship in 1976, was merely one of several uninspiring nonleaders at the national level of the CDU. His own ambitions? Strauss admitted that he would be willing to consider becoming the CDU/CSU candidate for chancellor in 1976.

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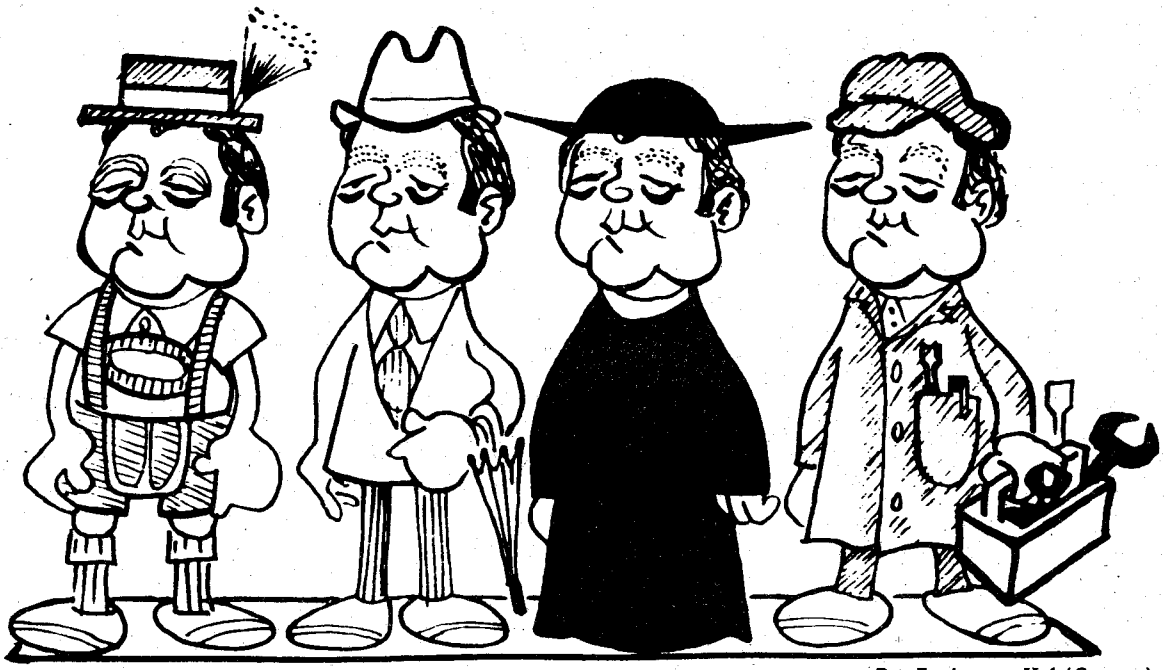
Strauss's position was also strengthened on October 27 by the gains made by Alfred Dregger, head of the CDU in Hessen and a close ally of the Bavarian on the CDU right wing. Dregger failed to win an absolute majority, but he did edge past the SPD with the best electoral results ever achieved by the CDU in Hessen. Like Strauss, he will remain out of leading public office, and will therefore be untouched by the difficult economic decisions facing German governments. He may ultimately be a more likely candidate for chancellor than Strauss, whose Bavarian regional appeal will tell against him north of the Main. But whatever happens, Strauss is bound to play a major national role in the future affairs of the CDU/CSU, which accordingly will move still further to the right. It is even possible that he considers an alliance with Helmut Schmidt, whom he has failed to criticize in the course of his violent attacks on the SPD and government. He may aspire to reviving the CDU/CSU-SPD "great coalition" as it existed under Chancellor Georg Kiesinger. It seems an unlikely notion, unless the 1976 elections produce a deadlock, but that is entirely possible. Meanwhile, Helmut Kohl for the CDU and Strauss for the CSU have apparently agreed to put off definite selection of a joint chancellor candidate until after the several local elections scheduled for the spring of 1975. By June, the CDU/CSU line should be fairly clear.

The leadership of the FDP will find the significance of the election results difficult to translate into party strategy for the years ahead. This small liberal party is significant only because the system of proportional representation permits it to seat members in state and federal parliaments. It once shared national power with the CDU. Thanks to the present coalition with the SPD, it retains considerable influence on the country's economic policy, an important matter to the many businessmen who support it. Last year, when the deteriorating economic situation began to create serious trouble for the Brandt government, the CDU approached the FDP with a series of suggestions for regional alliances intended to split the national FDP-SPD coalition. These suggestions were at first vigorously rejected. Some within the FDP leadership even developed an ideology of "permanent coalition" between the progressive bourgeoisie and the working class, represented respectively by the FDP and the SPD, which would create a just society while avoiding radical excess. The attraction of this notion was seriously weakened by the government crisis that brought Brandt down. At the FDP national convention, held just before the recent elections, an advocate of "permanent coalition" was defeated for an important party post by an opponent who favored keeping the party's options open. But both advocates of permanent coalition with the SPD and those who were considering the prospect of moving toward the CDU had hoped that voters deserting the SPD would land with the liberals. That has not happened. The FDP suffered a serious loss in Hessen, where it had hoped to increase its vote. In Bavaria, similar hopes were disappointed by a result (5.2 per cent) that came horrifyingly close to the cutoff point for proportional representation in the state parliament. After its dismal showing, the FDP can no longer expect to increase its influence within the national governing coalition, and the CDU will not be particularly interested in wooing the liberals. The FDP leadership can only sit it out and hope for better times.

As was to be expected, given the declining economic situation, the vote for the extremist parties, the National Democrats (NPD, often referred to as the "neo-Nazis") and the two rival Communist parties, increased somewhat. But the gains were tiny. The reason for the NPD's failure is obvious—the strong right-wing stance of Strauss and Dregger drowned out any "neo-Nazi" competition. As for the Communist groups, whatever appeal they make to the "proletariat" is almost impossible to transfer into



Bac, Frankenpost, Hof (Germany)

Strauss: A Chancellor for All Germans

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votes, since the most proletarian workers in Germany are foreigners, who cannot vote. The only important voices on the Left, in terms of parliamentary and electoral politics, are to be found in the SPD.

How the SPD reacts to its current difficulties will depend in good part upon how it understands the causes of its decline. The obvious course would be to blame the drop in support on the general economic situation, a common enough phenomenon these days. There is solid evidence for this explanation. Although inflation has been kept at about 7 per cent, there is fear that it will accelerate, and even at present levels it is disturbing, since German prices are already very high. Unemployment is increasing: in both Hessen and Bavaria workers have been hit by layoffs and short shifts, particularly in the important automotive industry. Recent bankruptcies have created a minor panic situation. Just a few days before the Bavaria/Hessen elections, a respected forum of economic experts predicted that a doubling of the unemployment rate (to more than 5 per cent) was unavoidable this winter.

Other national factors certainly contributed to the disaster of the SPD and its coalition partner. The parliamentary investigation of the Guillaume spy affair has become an arena for partisan sniping that has not impressed voters favorably. There is no evidence that the majority of the investigative committee, controlled by the SPD and the FDP, wants to uncover the truth. Furthermore, Herbert Wehner, the powerful federal parliamentary leader of the SPD, is in trouble because he backed an aide who is now involved in a major conflict of interest and perjury scandal. Wehner was the man most responsible for forcing Brandt out of the chancellorship, and, with Wehner's position weakened, Brandt as party chairman has returned to an important role in the SPD councils. However, the scandal around Wehner has hurt the party as a whole, and the smell of cover-up clings to the national leadership. Still another national issue that hurt both SPD and FDP in the recent elections was their successful legalization of abortion last spring. The Catholic Church used the issue to mobilize voters for the CSU in very Catholic Bavaria, and the coalition parties were hurt by it in Hessen as well. In a related matter, the FDP added to its difficulties by adopting a position paper on church-state relations that offended both Catholic and Protestant churchmen and many of their parishioners.

It would thus seem reasonable for the party pundits of the SPD to conclude that their dismal showing was simply a reflection of general national problems about which they can do very little at the moment. They might advise their followers to avoid panic, maintain their organizations, and hope that the general situation will be enough better by 1976 that the "social issues" the party pushed so successfully in 1972 will again make the difference. Unfortunately for the SPD, there is little chance that its leaders will follow this type of reasoning. At the least, its adoption would mean a frank admission that Schmidt has failed to improve the party's image, and that the departure of Brandt was probably unnecessary, if not an outright mistake. It is not likely that the SPD's national leaders will abandon their by now habitual pose of insufferable self-righteousness and infallibility.

In a discussion of the background of the Brandt resignation several months ago ("Why Brandt Stepped Down," *The Nation,* June 8), I called attention to the complex situation created in the SPD by the revival of Marxism by the "Young Socialists" (Jusos) in the party. The sudden weakening of Wehner's position, with the result that Brandt has remained a power in the party, has foiled one of my "predictions" in that discussion. But my major suggestion, that the SPD would in the near future be too much embroiled in internal quarrels to tackle its enemies, has been entirely borne out by events. The Jusos and Chancellor Schmidt, after a very brief honeymoon, have as expected excommunicated each other. The SPD leadership charges the Jusos with weakening the party by lending credence to the Red Scare tactics of Strauss and Dregger. A number of prominent Jusos face expulsion from the party for failure to adhere to the SPD program, and for conduct damaging to the party.

There is no doubt that the "Red" question was important in the recent campaigns. In Hessen, the public has been upset by a group of Frankfurt terrorists who have occupied buildings and engage from time to time in major riots, abetted by a police force only too willing to give them a fight. The issues involved are complicated, but there is some reason to believe that the instigators are members of extreme Communist groups intent on overthrowing the SPD-FDP government of Hessen and bringing in the rightist Dregger (as almost happened) in the hope of producing a revolutionary situation. The Hessian SPD, conscious of its progressive traditions, has been unwilling to "crack down" on the rioters, or to chase "subversives" from the universities. Thus the Frankfurt city government, and the state government led by the SPD's Albert Osswald, have given their constituents a not entirely unjustified impression of acute ideological and practical helplessness. When this impression was combined with the emerging facts about the mismanagement (at best) of the Hessian State Bank, the results were devastating.

Here in Munich, scene of the most dramatic decline of SPD electoral fortunes, the "radical" question also played a major role. The city government is controlled by the right wing of the SPD, and acknowledges the leadership of Hans-Jochen Vogel, SPD chairman in Bavaria and Minister of Justice in Bonn. But the Munich party organization has been captured by the Jusos, who also have a sizable minority in the city council. From these positions, the Jusos have criticized city and national government policies, using a distinctly Marxist terminology. Vogel, who was once mayor of Munich, has joined his successor, Mayor Kronawitter, in accusing the Jusos of endangering the SPD majority in Munich and making party gains in Bavaria impossible. The most important individual target of the SPD right wing was Munich Councilman Siegmar Geiselberger, a Juso who was forced out of his positions in the city government (although he cannot be removed from his council seat)

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and will probably be expelled from the SPD. Geiselberger himself has resisted all attempts at compromise, responding to accusations with a curt, "I don't give a shit whether or not the SPD has a majority, if it executes CSU policies." When this dispute was combined with charges, yet to be proven, that the radical SPD councilmen had been rigging city contracts, electoral fallout was inevitable.

Helmut Schmidt, fearing SPD disasters and not wishing to risk his own prestige, stayed out of Hessen and Bavaria as much as decency allowed. The local SPD leaders have dutifully reported that their failures cannot be blamed on Schmidt or the national government. Who, then, is to blame? The party leadership suggests that the fault lies with the Jusos, who allegedly have reawakened fears within the German electorate that the Social Democrats are really Communists after all. Anti-communism is a serious matter in West Germany, and Vogel and Schmidt are certainly right to worry about the effect the Jusos will have on the electorate. But it seems unlikely that throwing the left wing out of the party will help matters. The sweeping results of the elections, particularly in Bavaria, strongly suggest that, insofar as the electorate's fear of "communism" is aroused, it becomes incapable of distinguishing between Right and Left within the SPD.

Despite local variations, as in Munich and Frankfurt, it is doubtful that the Marxist high jinks of the Jusos were really to blame for the SPD losses, although they may have added somewhat to the degree of the defeat. If "anti-communism" were really the issue, the FDP might have benefited, instead of suffering more severe losses than the SPD in some areas. But by emphasizing the danger of Marxism within the party, the SPD leadership draws attention away from its inability to solve Germany's growing economic problems and keep its ethical house in order.

The CDU/CSU, with no economic program of its own worth taking seriously and with its own scandals to worry about, is delighted to join in the current redbaiting (continuing an old party tradition). The beneficiaries will be the most effective redbaiters, Strauss, Dregger and their followers, as well as any imitators they may inspire. And they will see to it that the SPD does not benefit, whatever it does about its Marxists. The brush with which Strauss spreads his red paint is broad enough to cover at one stroke everyone from anarchists and Maoists to the SPD right wing, and even at times the FDP as well.

Attempts by the CDU to set up the Communist scarecrow failed dismally through 1972, as long as German prosperity held. Now that the voters fear the loss of their recently won economic security, they are more willing to listen to the slickly produced, well-financed propaganda spewed out by the Strauss machine. The leadership of the SPD, in its desperate attempt to cleanse the party of Marxists, is only playing Strauss's game for him, and by his rules. Brandt gives some signs of realizing what is going on. If he can reassert his influence in the party, there is some hope for an improved situation, particularly since he has now definitely broken with Wehner, one of the most ruthless "anti-Communists" in the party. But if the lingering effects of the Guillaume scandal keep Brandt in the background, it seems likely that the party crisis will continue and that German politics will keep moving to the right. □

THE NEW MAYORS

BLACK POWER IN THE BIG CITIES

EDWARD GREER

In 1967 the first black mayors were elected in major American cities: Carl Stokes of Cleveland and Richard Gordon Hatcher of Gary, Ind. Their victories prompted a rather speculative discussion about the coming epoch of "black power," and each additional group of black officeholders has reawakened a flurry of interest in this large political question. A close examination of this new electoral phenomenon enables us now to conclude that an irreversible and historic shift is well under way in urban America: the blackening of municipal power. My own estimate is that within a decade a full third of American blacks will live in cities with black administrations. These administrations will tend to become focal points for the entire black liberation movement.

Among the black municipal administrations will be those of Chicago, Detroit, Philadelphia, Washington, D.C., Cleveland, New Orleans and Atlanta. In fact, unless there is some remarkable reversal of existing demographic trends, black voters will be the majority in most of the nation's ten largest cities by the early 1980s. Added to this potential black-power base are other large cities, such as New York and Los Angeles, where black mayors may be elected even though blacks remain a minority of the electorate. As Mrs. Martin Luther King, Jr. pointed out in a speech earlier this year, the mayoral victory of someone like Thomas A. Bradley of Los Angeles reflects "a combination of aggressive black political unity and white trust of black leadership" that had "never occurred before on a large scale" but is now increasingly feasible.

On its face, black control over many of the country's largest urban political machines is a formidable political power. However, this power is still potential and sharply circumscribed in many ways. Foremost among the difficulties is the fact that urban economic problems are most

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severe among the older industrial cities in which blacks are now gaining hegemony. From the end of the Korean War such cities have experienced a massive loss of manufacturing jobs, and more recently of commercial employment as well. For instance, between 1960 and 1970 Detroit lost a full quarter of its jobs, and the decline is continuing. The trend, for which there exists no effective countervailing force, is now embedded in our political economy and seems irreversible.

Along with loss of employment has come a decline in the overall physical infrastructure of the city. It is seen most markedly in the aging, deteriorating housing stock. Sometimes there is even an absolute drop in the number of housing units. Thus, Newark, N.J., has built fewer than 4,000 new units of housing in the past few years while double that number of units were destroyed.

Partly as a response to these structural changes, but largely as a result of government policy, the bulk of upper-income whites have departed to the suburbs. In addition to massive government subsidies to highways and to mortgage interest costs via FHA loan guarantees, the federal income-tax structure was reworked after World War II to encourage suburbanization. Both local property taxes and home mortgage interest payments are deductible. If this "loophole" did not exist, everyone's taxes could be reduced by an eighth! Needless to say, the effect of this tax benefit is highly regressive. Overall, households with annual incomes exceeding $25,000 receive benefits more than three times as great as all the government's housing subsidies to low-income families.

Loss of manufacturing and commercial tax base, plus loss of upper-income households, has created a permanent and ever worsening municipal fiscal crisis. To maintain even a minimal level of public services, the cities must simultaneously raise their property tax rates and become more dependent financially upon subsidies from state and federal authorities.

Thus, even a city as affluent as Detroit—with the highest paid black community in the country—depends upon state and federal governments for a third of its revenues; and there is every reason to believe that the proportion of outside funding will rise. A similar situation prevails in the other metropolitan centers with large black populations, even though these cities are imposing on their citizens far heavier property tax burdens than prevail in the surrounding suburbs. As a proportion of per capita income, property tax rates in Gary are a half higher than in its suburbs; in Washington, D.C. the rates are double; they are also double in Newark.

In short, no central city government possesses the indigenous resources necessary to provide a decent level of social services for its inhabitants. Accordingly, every municipal regime is necessarily subordinated politically (no matter how militant its leadership may be) both to the federal government and to whatever large multinational corporations provide major local sources of jobs and taxes.

It has long been an accepted part of American politics that big city mayors must cooperate with the national administration if they want to receive federal funds. Although it generally receives less attention in the political science textbooks, the cities face a similar situation with respect to the large oligopolies. For instance, as Mayor Richard Hatcher recently testified before a Senate subcommittee investigating the property tax system, United States Steel Corporation officials had "indicated strongly that unless [the corporation] receives local cooperation, which it sees as 'stabilized expenditures' on the part of the municipal government, it may have to move on, as have other steel mills in other communities." Hatcher added that he found the threat disturbing—as well he might, since U.S. Steel's Gary Works provides the bulk of the city's employment and taxes. I can state from my own experience as an aide to Mayor Hatcher that this overhanging threat had a substantial influence on City Hall policy.

In addition to the objective checks on their power which all central city mayors face due to the economic situation, there exists for black mayors a second set of distinctive problems. These arise from the instransigent resistance of previous power holders in the city to the new black administrations, a resistance that is possible because of widespread popular racism.

For instance, when a new black administration takes over from the previous white administration, many of the top administrative personnel in City Hall simply quit. The new black mayor then has great difficulty replacing such managerial personnel (for instance, city engineers) from the local black community, because blacks were previously excluded from such jobs and there is no pool from which to draw qualified candidates. Thus, in Gary, Mayor Hatcher found himself appointing black schoolteachers to a variety of top jobs; each of these individuals had arduously to teach himself on the job.

And if a black mayor resorts to filling a job with an out-of-towner, the appointment is resented by local black rank-and-filers who believe that the patronage should go to those who worked for the new mayor's victory. This conflict was a major reason for the political split between Mayor Gibson of Newark and Imamu Baraka's nationalist grouping. Furthermore, bringing in an "expert" from a different city presents problems similar to those raised by appointing an inexperienced local man. Thus, in my own case, having come in from the East Coast I had little understanding of the concrete problems of a Midwest industrial city and therefore tended to make impractical proposals.

Even worse, however, is the plight of the mayor who decides to keep on former administrators, if they agree to stay. Indeed, they often stay, whatever the new mayor's desires. The legacy of the Progressive Era in city politics is a variety of independent boards and commissions which control everything from parks to urban renewal. In such cases a black mayor may require several terms in office to change the direction of major aspects of local government. There is quite a gap between electing a black executive in a city and establishing urban black power!

Generally, the holdovers have operated habitually in an inefficient, if not outright corrupt, fashion. But when the spotlight of national, state and local publicity picks out the new black regime, these previously "invisible" failings become public—and responsibility for them is attributed to

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the black administration. Thus, after Mayor Gibson took over in Newark, the New Jersey State Task Force on Urban Programs charged that his administration was riddled with inefficiency. In particular, the Newark Health Department was charged with gross fiscal irresponsibility and "an obvious lack of supervision and follow-up in most areas of health administration." Only in the fine print was it revealed that these practices were traditional in Newark's Health Department.

An exactly parallel situation prevailed in Gary's Health Department. There the study revealing the incredibly anarchic situation was a secret internal staff exercise conducted by my Office of Program Co-ordination, but the outcome was the same. Until Hatcher could obtain a majority of appointments on the Board of Health—which took more than three years—he was unable to remove the Health Commissioner or his underlings. (Among other consequences, we were stymied in attempts to reduce Gary's air pollution, the local air pollution commission being subordinate to the Board of Health.)

The burden of blame in all such cases, whether it involves garbage pickups or housing inspections, is placed squarely on the black mayor. Even when the national media offer more balanced coverage, the local newspapers —always tied to the *ancien régime* by political sympathies and personal relationships—encourage this interpretation of events. And each such failure undermines and erodes popular enthusiasm for the new administration. Gradually, even large sections of the black population come to believe that the new situation is only a minor improvement over the old; and whites see in every instance confirmation of their initial prejudice that blacks are incapable of properly running their city.

To the degree that the high hopes of substantially improving the existing municipal functions are hamstrung by such factors, black administrators are compelled to rely on the federal authorities to compensate for internal weaknesses. In particular, this takes the form of bringing in new federal programs (such as Model Cities, or job training) which produce quick and visible results. Such programs, however, are almost always directed toward the ghettos. The result is that black support is maintained, but whites begin to accuse the black mayor of practicing "racism in reverse." Even after four years in office, Mayor Hatcher was unable to obtain even 10 per cent of the white vote in his second election. Other black mayors are likely to face similar white popular opposition.

One interesting example of the special problems of black mayors is that of the police. The opposition of the police department is also the most dangerous form of resistance that the entrenched bureaucracies can bring to bear. State civil service regulations usually give policemen remarkable protection from any direct political controls; and this formal legal autonomy is increased by an informal process which virtually guarantees policemen protection from criminal prosecutions.

The criminal justice system will rarely take action against a policeman, until his case has been forwarded by the police authorities themselves. And very few urban police forces discipline their officers on the basis of civilian complaints. This tradition holds even in the most progressive metropolises, let alone in the old industrial cities where blacks are likely to gain political power. For instance, a detailed study of 1,900 New York City policemen over a period of eleven years showed that 280 brutality charges had been filed by citizens against these officers. In only one case did a policeman receive more than a verbal reprimand; that case resulted in a substantial fine. Moreover, no informal sanctions—such as forced resignations or damage to prospects for promotion—were exercised against the officers so charged.

This is of more than academic interest, since police killings of criminal suspects (an extreme form of the extralegal application of excessive force) constitute 3 per cent of all the killings in the country. And only a small minority of these killings are in self-defense. (Policemen are six times as likely to kill suspected criminals as they are to be killed by them. In fact, police work—in contrast to that of firemen—is not particularly hazardous. Half of the major occupations in America, including mining, agriculture, construction and transportation, have higher on-the-job fatality rates.) Since the majority of those killed by the police are black, and since the killers are rarely punished—even when their victims are young teen-agers—the issue is felt deeply in the black community.

Historically, the police autonomy which permits this all too commonplace occurrence was developed precisely to prevent local political insurgencies from gaining control over the means of juridical coercion in their communities. The institution of police civil service protection was a way that the old elites guarded against the rising ethnic groups in the industrial cities of America: in particular against massive trade unionism and Socialist tendencies among the immigrants. Gary's Police Civil Service Commission was instituted by the most recent Republican mayor (a crony of top executives at U.S. Steel) in 1939, after the rise of the CIO made inevitable the corporation's loss of direct political control of the city. Today, these same arrangements serve almost to assure that black administrations will be unable to tame their police forces. In fact, there is good reason to believe that the election of black mayors is followed by an actual "police backlash." Faced with what they perceive as a severe threat to their ability to conduct themselves as they see fit in the black ghettos, the police attempt to maintain their autonomy by whatever means are readily at their disposal.

Among the police prerogatives threatened by a new black mayor is their entrepreneurial role in the ghetto, in particular their close ties with organized crime and vice. It is not only in New York City that a "sizable majority" of policemen (in the words of the Knapp Commission Report) are corrupt. The same pattern prevails in every city with a sizable black population. (Policemen take "protection" money in return for permitting the regular operation of organized rackets. Much worse, they may serve as guards or "enforcers" for the narcotics trade, or encourage teen-agers to commit pre-specified thefts in exchange for drugs seized in raids and not turned over to superiors.) Although this pattern may well be invisible to the white middle-income majority, it is painfully evident to the mass of the black population. Municipalities have customarily tolerated a far higher level of crime activity in the ghettos; indeed, they have in effect

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herded organized crime into those areas. Thus, policemen far prefer ghetto assignments because of the opportunities for high payoffs. New York policemen refer to the black slums as "golden ghettos."

Any black administration at all responsive to the black community constitutes a direct threat to untaxed additional police income. Thus in Gary there was a thirteenfold multiplication of gambling raids during Hatcher's first year in office. Soon gambling and prostitution became far less visible in the community as operations were shifted out of the city limits. Only at that point did the Gary police begin to press militantly for substantial pay raises.

Another police prerogative threatened by a black mayor is that of passing on one's job to one's children. Black administrations abolish discriminatory hiring practices and that leads to sharp increases in the proportion of black policemen. (The Justice Department currently has employment discrimination suits under the Civil Rights Act of 1964 pending against several big city Police Civil Service Commissions.) With a third of the nation's urban policemen coming from police families, policemen are in a position analogous to that prevailing in the old AFL building trades.

Also, black mayors demand far more performance from the police. Black administrations (which are under tremendous pressure from their black constituents, who are the prime victims of street crime) insist that their police departments conduct a more vigorous battle against street crime—and that it do so without arbitrarily hassling young black males for simply using the public streets. It is enough to frustrate and enrage the ordinary policeman.

Urban policemen see black mayors as intrinsically hostile to their interests; therefore, they wage an ongoing guerrilla war against them. A black mayor can avoid this outcome only by capitulating totally to his department's traditions. Thus Mayor Bradley of Los Angeles (himself an ex-policeman) actually went so far as publicly to praise the department's massacre of suspected Symbionese Liberation Army members, although the lives of black citizens living in the area were thereby wantonly endangered.

The exception to the rule of universal police hostility is the black police, whose situation is particularly complex. There is a stratum of black police that has come to identify with the black community as opposed to the white police culture, in part because, whatever its pretensions, every American police force discriminates against its black members. Thus the founder of Chicago's Afro-American Patrolmen's League defines its goal as creating a situation in which "in all cases of unlawful behavior by police, police officers are prosecuted like any other civilian." On the other hand, some black policemen allow themselves to be used as shock troops by their superiors. Given plainclothes assignments in the high-crime ghettos, these policemen are particularly dangerous. The universally hated and feared Detroit STRESS unit—disbanded by Mayor Coleman Young as soon as he took office—was responsible for numerous murders and was largely composed of black policemen.

The white policemen actually mobilize themselves politically to campaign against black mayoral candidates. When Mayor Stokes of Cleveland ran for re-election in 1969, 400 off-duty policemen appeared at the polls in black neighborhoods to challenge voters' registration. In Gary in 1967, when Hatcher first ran for election, policemen went so far as physically to block access to the polls in some central ghetto wards. (During his second election, Hatcher's black police chief assigned these officers to desk work in station houses while the polls were open.)

And, most shockingly, the police may actually increase their use of extra-legal force when black administrations take over City Hall. Fragmentary evidence from Cleveland, Gary and Newark suggests that police killings of fleeing suspects and police beatings of arrestees may rise after a black mayor is installed.

In the face of obstacles such as these, unique to the situation of urban "black power," it is little wonder that the accomplishments of the handful of black mayors have been so limited. Of course these limits are obscured as much as possible by the mayors themselves, who employ all the rhetoric of American politics (as well as ethnic appeals to black nationalism) to give their administrations as good a face as possible. The disappointing results are also disguised by a redistribution of the spoils of office: black accountants and lawyers get to draw up some of the lucrative city contracts, black construction firms get a share of the local urban renewal projects, and so forth. That is clearly a boon to the local black bourgeoisie and makes good publicity, but it does little to help the mass of urban black workers with their real problems of jobs, housing, social services, etc.

There are even negative aspects to these black administrations. In the absence of real payoffs to the population, there is a tendency to reinstate the corruption which characterized the old machines; and while this may be a natural development, it perpetuates the demoralization and sense of futility among the mass of blacks and impedes a unified activism capable of changing the oppressive structures of the society. When the white citizenry comes to see urban black power as simply a redistribution of municipal benefits, such as garbage pickups and other patronage, on the basis of race, it becomes increasingly receptive to right-wing politicians such as George Wallace who link blacks with threats to "law and order."

Thus, the blackening of urban America does not in itself at all suffice to prevent what seems to be the irrevocable disintegration of our major central cities. This is well understood by all segments of the political spectrum; one has to seek far to find anyone who denies the grave "urban crisis" of contemporary America. But fortunately a new possibility, still embryonic, accompanies the growth of effective black political majorities in the metropolises. It is that the emerging black administrations—following on and improving upon the model of the black caucus in Congress—should form an independent political coalition of major cities. Political unity on that scale could lead to a coordinated series of struggles for fundamental reform of the police, mass rehabilitation of urban housing and structural changes in the local tax system (i.e., abolition of the property tax and the substitu-

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tion of revenues from a genuinely progressive federal income tax).

Such efforts, of course, cannot possibly succeed simply as a result of City Hall activities, or even by coordinated lobbying in Washington. Major urban social change requires independent grass-roots political activity on a massive scale, and that is hardly an automatic development. Even Mayor Hatcher—one of the more progressive black mayors—automatically disbanded his campaign organization after his election rather than be subject to constant pressures from below by a black grass-roots organization.

As an instance of the need for grass-roots action, one of the major reasons for neighborhood decline is the lending pattern of local banks. To force these banks to change their lending patterns so as to make neighborhood rehabilitation practical requires the organized and combined efforts of the majority of depositors; it cannot be done by administrative fiat. Similarly, a poor neighborhood cannot become a safe and decent place to live without the active participation of its inhabitants; it is a job that cannot be accomplished by a police department alone. The exciting experiment of Mayor Young of Detroit in setting up "mini-police stations" in housing projects, with black policemen volunteering for these assignments, suggests one possible path for nonrepressive ghetto crime control.

It will take a mass movement to make the cities of America habitable. What a group of determined black mayors can do is serve as catalyst and organizer of precisely such extra-parliamentary mass activity. Such a policy would be a heroic continuation of, and advance over, the civil rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s. Indeed, it is hardly an exaggeration to argue that the transformation of black mayors from neocolonial administrators into "tribunes of the people" is the historic challenge before them.

The ability of the black mayors to play such an initiating and organizing role depends on their assuming leadership of a genuine interracial alliance, because every issue of urban mass struggle—taxes, pollution control, mass transit, etc.—is of a *class-wide* and not simply racial character. A vast movement of this character to revitalize the cities would open the path to an overall structural transformation of the society, for the interrelated measures necessary to save the cities go far beyond traditional liberal reforms.

Thus, the blackening of our central cities means that potentially these local government structures can be put at the disposal of a real movement for social change in America. If any other major force now within the traditional New Deal coalition (for instance, some major part of the trade union movement) were to break out of its present orbit, I believe that at least some of the black mayors (who are all profoundly dissatisfied with their inability to ameliorate their people's conditions) would welcome and unite with such new political allies. It is a development that would open political vistas that now seem utopian. □

POST-NUCLEAR DIPLOMACY

THE STABILITY OF DETENTE

HERBERT S. DINERSTEIN

Mark Twain is said to have remarked that everyone talks about the weather but no one does anything about it. Nowadays everyone seems to be giving forth on whether he is for or against détente, but few care to define it. As currently used, détente is the name given to the relations between the Soviet Union and the United States, and the fact that the word has achieved such wide currency in this restricted meaning suggests that there is something special about those relations. I shall try to demonstrate that détente makes for a unique stability on the ultimate issue of war or peace, but permits, nay encourages, movement and change on all issues of lesser moment. I shall also argue that internal affairs in the United States and in the Soviet Union are of major importance in determining the relationship between the two states.

First as to the unique stability of détente. Its basis is the conviction that nuclear war would be an act of mutual destruction. I cannot emphasize too strongly that this conviction derives from the destructive capability of nuclear weapons and the impossibility of any real defense against them. It does not depend on the current state of relations between the Soviet Union and the United States, nor on the personalities of the leaders in both countries. Presidents as different as Eisenhower, Kennedy, Johnson, Nixon and Ford have never had any doubts on that score, nor have any leaders in the Soviet Union. American Presidents maintained this view even when the United States enjoyed an easy preponderance of nuclear weapons and was beyond the reach of Soviet weapons. They maintained this view when relations with the USSR were amicable and when they were severely strained. And the same can be said of Soviet leaders. I hope it means that men of very different beliefs and histories agree that, in a world armed with nuclear weapons, men must be prudent if man is to survive.

But does this mean that relations between the Soviet Union and the United States must steadily improve if

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détente is to be preserved? Will détente be lost if relations between the two countries continue to have their ups and downs? I say no. This détente is not a tender plant that will die if the atmosphere becomes somewhat inclement. I think some of us mistake the nature of Russo-American détente because we think of it in terms of traditional diplomacy rather than in the context of the nuclear age. In traditional diplomacy détente was always a transitional stage: two powers which had achieved a suspension of hostility either had to consolidate a new friendship or drift back into animosity. Thus in 1904, after centuries of war and rivalry, England and France composed a number of outstanding differences and then had to decide whether to go further and join each other in a power grouping or join opposing power groupings. For a variety of reasons, the British and French decided to convert détente into entente, and indeed the Anglo-French-Russian coalition of World War I was called the Triple Entente. At that time every alliance was based on the expectation that common interests would in the end have to be defended in war, and powers broke with old partners and found new ones largely on the ground that the change would enhance their chances of military victory.

But that is not the nature of the U.S.-Soviet relationship. Détente in this case means solely that the two countries will not make war against each other. They *may* become friendlier, but they will not become friends, thus making enemies of their former allies. That was a reasonable development when it was believed that conflicts always could be, and probably eventually would be, resolved in the trial of war. In the nuclear age there are no alternatives to détente. If the climate gets cooler, neither side can abandon détente—that is, gather enough allies or arms to make victory in war a reasonable possibility. If, on the other hand, the climate of détente gets warmer, third powers cannot band together in an alliance to make war against a coalition which has upset the balance of power. Thus, unlike the agreements between nations in the past, détente is a stable relationship that can survive, and has survived, a good deal of perturbation. Therefore I have little patience with the argument that, unless the Russian leaders are kept satisfied with the state of Soviet-American relations, détente is in danger. I have just as little patience with the argument that, unless American leaders are happy with the state of American-Soviet relations, détente is in danger.

Of course I do not suggest that, since we don't have to worry about détente, relations between the USSR and the United States are unimportant. Plenty of issues that function below the level of existence or annihilation are worth the most careful attention, but it is useful to put them into proper perspective.

Coming down one step from the level of mutual nuclear destruction, we are in the familiar world of competition and conflicting interests. But again there is a radical difference from the ways of the past. Neither great power can permit differences of purpose, or even wars between its clients, to draw it into war. Mr. Kissinger has said that it is the purpose of the United States to expel the Soviet Union from the Near East. And the Soviet Union would like to expel the United States from the same area. I am willing to predict that neither will succeed. Détente does not prevent either power from seizing an opportunity to further its interests even if, and sometimes just because, it damages the interests of its adversary. Recently the United States has enjoyed considerable success in supplanting the Soviet Union as the major protector of Egypt, while still keeping Israel as its client. The Soviet Union is trying to use the conflict between Greece and Turkey to draw one or both of those countries closer to itself and away from the United States. Examples could be multiplied. The point is that neither power hesitates for a moment to benefit from the discomfiture of its rival.

I know that the opposite has often been asserted; for example, the claim has been made that Russia helped the United States extricate itself from Vietnam. But the facts do not support that contention. When the United States finally accepted the old principle that you cannot get at the conference table what you have failed to win on the field of battle, North Vietnamese acquiescence in American troop withdrawal was assured. When the United States finally accepted the presence of North Vietnamese forces in South Vietnam, the irreducible North Vietnamese condition was met. The Soviet Union only carried the message to Hanoi. Some feel, as I do, that our concession came at least four years too late; others feel that we should never have recognized the North Vietnamese military presence in South Vietnam. But it seems far off the mark to claim that Moscow forced the North Vietnamese to accept what they had been demanding for years. So much for the proposition that détente means that the United States or the USSR will help each other in difficulties of the opponent's own creation.

Since nuclear war between the United States and the Soviet Union is excluded, and since neither power has any reason to fear that the other can gather enough allies or arms to change that situation, each side has come to search for any advantages that can be derived from this association that circumstances have forced upon them. Such a relationship between great powers is unique. Traditionally, in an alliance between a great power and a secondary power, the great power could permit its domestic groups to press their interests forward, while the weaker country's domestic interests had to be subordinated to the protection that association with the great power afforded. But domestic interests never had full rein in the policies of the great power, because common prudence dictated restraint. Only in a colonial or a semi-colonial situation could a great power permit domestic interests to dominate its policy. For a time that was a fair description of U.S. policy in Latin America, and Soviet internal necessities still dominate their policy toward the Socialist states of Eastern Europe. What is unique about the détente between the Soviet Union and the United States is the dominant role that domestic interests play in *both* coun-

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tries. The major issues are (*1*) the military balance between the two states; (*2*) economic arrangements; (*3*) emigration policy.

(1) The military balance. To simplify, but I hope without distorting: The arms control arrangements thus far achieved between the two powers represent the lowest common denominator of the conflicting views and interests within each country. For at least fifteen years important and eloquent, but never dominant, groups within each country have believed that the mutual fear of destruction that is at the basis of détente could be maintained with much smaller and less expensive forces on each side. But in both countries parochial service interests and the honestly held belief that important force reductions could give a critical advantage to the other side, have combined to limit the scope of arms control agreements. It has often been said that negotiations among the various interests in Washington about the U.S. position in arms control talks with the Russians were more difficult to bring to a successful conclusion than the negotiations with the Soviet Union. Incomplete but persuasive evidence suggests that the same situation obtains in Moscow.

In the future, as in past, the political balance of force that within each state determines its military arrangements will change, but large-scale negotiated reduction of forces must await the simultaneous ascendancy of the arms budget cutters in both countries. Since the two political systems are very different and move to different rhythms, the prospects for a significant reduction in expenditures on weapons are not bright. But I hasten to repeat that this does not jeopardize détente. It was born in the coils of the arms race; if nuclear weapons had not been invented I doubt that there would have been a détente between the Soviet Union and the United States.

(2) Economic arrangements. In recent years the Brezhnev regime in the Soviet Union has placed great store on the benefits it anticipates from increased trade and foreign investment. It is important to put these expectations into the setting of Soviet politics. The Soviet leaders have finally realized that their political system is here to stay. They really never had much cause for worry. No great- or medium-size power in the 20th century has experienced a social revolution except after a defeat in war. Although the standard of living in the Soviet Union is still low by comparison with that of some other Socialist countries, not to speak of capitalist countries, and though labor productivity is also comparatively poor, the GNP increases at a respectable rate—sufficient to pay for armaments at the present level, with some annual increases, and to permit a slow rise in the standard of living. But as the Soviet leaders begin to understand that national greatness will increasingly be measured in economic rather than military terms, they worry that the Soviet Union will not even be number two. Being patriotic and competitive men, they want to do something about it. The most trenchant critics of the Soviet economic system—and some Soviet economists fall into that category—believe that radical changes are required if the economy of the country is to spurt forward. Economic decision making must be decentralized, and some elements of a market economy must be introduced. Such changes in the economy could not be effected without rather far-reaching political changes, but the present Soviet political leadership is far too conservative to take the risk. Besides, the economy is performing adequately, if not brilliantly. The Soviet leaders prefer to believe that an injection of advanced Western technology would solve their main problems. Like most political leaders, they prefer to try aspirin before resorting to surgery, and they are intent, therefore, on importing expensive, advanced Western technology. Naturally, they are eager to get it on the most favorable terms.

The policy question for the United States is quite simple. We can immediately set aside the question of whether the Soviet Union should be allowed access to our markets on equal terms. If I read the mood of the times correctly, they are free to buy anything they can pay for on the same terms as anyone else. But that is not the issue. The Export-Import Bank, by making loans to American companies at much less than the commercial rate, is in effect subsidizing the Soviet purchase of American industrial goods. It is a good deal for the American companies involved, and a good deal for the Soviet Union. But is it a good deal for the United States? That is the policy question and it is not easily answered. On one side of the argument is some assurance of access to Russian raw materials, especially fuels whose price has risen so steeply in the last few years. On the other side are the alternate sources of energy that could be tapped with this injection of capital, which is in the last analysis provided by the American taxpayer. I don't know how the problem should be resolved, but I do want to make a plea for not considering it on the basis of a false assumption. Détente does not rest on a subvention of the Soviet economy but on the mutual desire to survive.

The economic relationships between the USSR and the United States upon which the Soviet leaders place such high and, in my opinion, such exaggerated hopes, illustrate the salient feature of détente—workaday economic arrangements, over which the legislative branch of the government has final control if it cares to exercise it. Mr. Nixon and Mr. Kissinger failed to appreciate this when they encouraged the Russian leaders to believe that they could deliver Congressional approval of most favored nation status for the Soviet Union and the special financing arrangements of the Export-Import Bank.

(3) Emigration policy. The Soviet Government's policy toward its Jewish population and other non-Russian populations has claimed a great deal of attention in discussions of détente inside and outside the Congress. It illustrates vividly the great differences between the two societies and why formal and informal negotiations between them involve matters which have a quite different resonance in each society.

The present Soviet leaders have treated their political opponents, on the whole, more harshly than did Khrushchev. Like the czars, the Soviet leaders exile some famous individuals, but the unknown languish in prisons or in lunatic asylums. The Soviet Jews are one of the groups that present a political problem for the Soviet Union, and their treatment furnishes a good example of how Soviet and American politics become intertwined. The Soviet Jews are an ethnic group with second-class citizenship who, on the one hand, suffer from discrimination and, on

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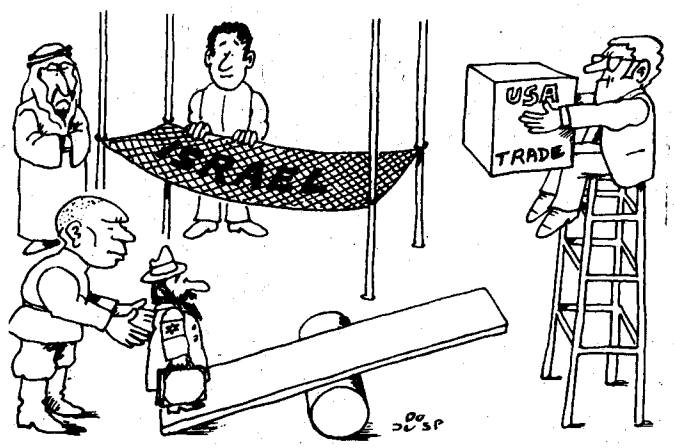
the other, have increasing opportunities to emigrate. That is not an inconsiderable privilege in the Soviet Union.

Continued mistreatment and harassment since the end of World War II have transformed the Soviet Jews. From a group that made the best of the difficult fate of being Soviet citizens and that expected to assimilate, they have come to doubt that existence in the Soviet Union is tolerable. Many now press for the right to emigrate, often with tragic consequences when it is denied. For the Soviet authorities it is an acute political problem even though the Jews number only some 3 million and are widely scattered in the nation.

The political problem is imbedded in the multinational character of the Soviet state. In recent years the Jews have found allies among other non-Russian nationalities, since they have a common interest in obtaining rights equal to those of the Russians—rights which are guaranteed by



Jusp, Wir Bruckenbauer (Switzerland)

the Soviet constitution. As the Soviet Union permits the Jews to exercise some of the rights to which the law entitles them, other disadvantaged nationalities are encouraged to press their claims.

The Soviet authorities, who have an exaggerated notion of the political influence of American Jews, sometimes make concessions to Russian Jews in the hope of creating a better climate for negotiating concessions they desire from the United States. The Baltic peoples, the Ukrainians and the Armenians are only the most numerous of those Americans whose parents or grandparents emigrated from the territory now part of the Soviet Union. Although these groups are much more assimilated into American society than they were a generation or two ago, they are still concerned for their distant cousins whom they have never met and whose names they may not know. They find no contradiction in feeling completely American and raising their voices in support of the rights of Jews, Ukrainians or Armenians in the Soviet Union. I speak with special conviction on this subject as one of the many millions of Americans with this background.

The contrast with the Soviet Union is striking. There anyone who has dared to make claim on the authorities and had it denied is viewed as both bold and aggrieved and therefore a danger to the state. The United States from the beginning has sought to accommodate disparate interests by arriving at a consensus rather than by enunciating a "correct" policy that particular groups can challenge only at the risk of being considered subversive.

Only a few of the issues in détente have been raised, but perhaps I have made the point that, as always in the intercourse among nations, the questions at issue have different internal significance in each country. Trade is of central importance in the view of the Soviet leaders, but in the whole spectrum of American foreign trade, even under the most optimistic projections, Soviet trade will never amount to much. The bargaining on this question of such differing importance for each party is conducted both formally and informally. The Soviet Union is too touchy about its sovereignty ever to admit—and negotiation on the subject would be such an admission—that permission for a Solzhenitsyn, or a Lithuanian sailor with dual nationality, or thousands of anonymous Jews, to emigrate is a *quid pro quo* for favorable American action on Soviet economic goals. But Soviet leaders are too intelligent and efficient in the pursuit of their own interests to ignore the fact that foreign countries and foreign legislative bodies can give or withhold resources keenly desired by the Soviet Union. Therefore Soviet leaders trouble to learn what the views of the members of such bodies are and take them into account. That is informal bargaining.

And in my view that is as it should be. Formal and informal negotiation between the Soviet Union and the United States is preferable to either of two extreme positions. The first is to return to the cold-war period, keeping the whole relationship at the minimal level of a tacit agreement not to make war on each other. The other extreme is to believe that peace depends on meeting Soviet economic demands without any conditions—that the Russian leaders must be bribed to be "good." As is so often the case in politics, wisdom does not reside at the extremes. Relations between the Soviet Union and the United States are a process whereby the internal constituencies in each country arrive at a national policy. It then becomes the task of diplomacy to find a common ground between these two national policies. Modest results are all that can be expected from so complex a process. If we search for dramatic breakthroughs, driven by the irrational fear that otherwise all is lost, we may be denied the important gains within our grasp. □

LETTERS *(Continued from page 514)*

pulse" yet "readable." It is negatively assessed as "repetitive," yet the "middle-class office and home has seldom been as remorselessly observed." The hero is berated as a male chauvinist pig but there is no perception that the author held him up to the light so that even the dullest among us can see what women are talking about. *Catch-22* is hailed only to belabor the author with it.

Happily I too read Heller's novel. It is heartbreakingly wise about the corporation man conditioned to become a whore through fear. The "climax" is not "mishandled" or "undersized" or even where the reviewer says it is. The structure is natural for the story. The ending is sure, immense in its implications, with as tough an insight as you'll find in any novel written in this decade.

When a major character in our national life is as uncompromisingly portrayed as is Mr. Heller's, it behooves the reviewer to pull up his chair a little closer to life so that his subjectivity—no matter what he thinks of the novel—has some validity.

Morris Renek

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BOOKS & THE ARTS

The Martyrdom of Gustav Landauer

CALL TO REVOLUTION: The Mystical Anarchism of Gustav Landauer. *By Charles B. Maurer. Wayne State University Press. 218 pp. $9.50.*

PROPHET OF COMMUNITY: The Romantic Socialism of Gustav Landauer. *By Eugene Lunn. University of California Press. 434 pp. $13.75.*

PAUL AVRICH

Gustav Landauer, the German anarchist and martyr, has been having a remarkable revival. In 1969 the Austrian radio dedicated a program to him under the title of *Murder in Munich: The Life and Work of Gustav Landauer.* In Tel Aviv a new anarchist group has been named in his honor (his influence on the Israeli communitarian movement was considerable). And in April 1974 a well-attended session was devoted to his life and thought at an anarchist conference at Hunter College in New York.

At the same time, Landauer has inspired a spate of recent works in several languages, including the two American biographies under review, while further studies of his life and ideas are in progress. Of his own writings, moreover, two compact anthologies were published in Germany in 1967 and 1968, with useful introductions by Heinz-Joachim Heydorn; and many of his longer works have been reprinted, including his essays on Shakespeare and his collection of letters from the French Revolution, reissued after fifty years by the original publishers, Rütten und Loening of Hamburg. It is time now to make his work available to readers of English. At present we have only brief and scattered excerpts from his principal essays and letters, a proper collection of which is overdue.

Charles B. Maurer's *Call to Revolution*, whose title echoes Landauer's famous essay, "Aufruf zum Sozialismus" ("Call to Socialism"), provides an adequate if somewhat superficial introduction to Landauer's ideas. Maurer, regrettably, has neglected unpublished materials, above all Landauer's vast correspondence in the International Institute of Social History in Amsterdam (of which Eugene Lunn, by contrast, has made extensive use). Nor does he cite the first series of Landauer's well-known journal, *Der Sozialist*, published in Berlin during the 1890s. Furthermore, he stresses Landauer's literary and cultural activity at the expense of his social and political thought. He seems to have been unaware of Lunn's then unpublished dissertation or of the two recent German anthologies of Landauer's writings. More serious, his grasp of anarchist history is insecure. He describes William Godwin as an "English clergyman" and Michael Bakunin as a "notorious" revolutionary; he says that the First International expired in 1873 (the actual date was 1876); and he speaks misleadingly of the Haymarket "riot" of 1886 in Chicago (the "rioters" were in fact the police, as in 1968). His book is not a penetrating study. It seldoms gets beneath the surface, nor does Landauer emerge as an important or original thinker. One would never guess that, apart from a growing number of younger readers, Landauer still has a small army of veteran admirers who regard him as a kind of prophet.

Lunn's book is more ambitious both in scope and in method. It is also better written and more thoroughly researched, although it misses, among other sources, the unpublished Landauer materials in the Martin Buber Archives of the National Library in Jerusalem. (Maurer likewise neglects this important collection, and neither author has seen the cache of Landauer papers reported to be in private hands near New York City.) Although Lunn's bibliography is far more extensive than Maurer's, it too has some defects. Lunn garbles the titles of the four unpublished volumes of Max Nettlau's monumental history of anarchism; he lists the German manuscript of Rudolf Rocker's autobiography without noting that it has been published in a multi-volume Yiddish translation; and he does not always supply the original dates of works by Landauer and other writers. Moreover, his list of Landauer's translations is far from complete, and he fails to mention the recent histories of German anarchism by Hans Manfred Bock and Ulrich Linse or the (now published) American dissertation by Andrew Carlson.

Lunn, like Maurer, underestimates the influence of Proudhon and Bakunin on Landauer's thinking, as well as that of the Spanish educator and martyr Francisco Ferrer, whom he mentions only once in a footnote. Neither book (this is especially true of Maurer) says enough about Landauer's contacts with the international anarchist movement or with such prominent figures as Kropotkin and Rocker. Landauer knew Kropotkin personally; for a time, in fact, they were neighbors in Bromley, and he translated Kropotkin's works into German. Yet they never became close friends. It would be interesting to know why. Landauer apparently had a similar relationship with Rocker (who after Landauer's death in 1919 succeeded him as editor of Kropotkin's works in German), again for unexplained reasons.

Although Lunn is an intelligent writer, he is repetitious about Landauer's combination of libertarian and *völkisch* elements. He is also capable of producing the following sentence: "Yet a major purpose is to present Landauer's romantic socialism as not simply a body of ideas or a theoretical construct, but rather as an ongoing synthesizing process mediated by historical and personal realities." What a mouthful! Fortunately, however, such passages are rare. For the most part the book is readable, the scholarship is impressive, and the blemishes are of minor proportions. *Prophet of Community* takes its place as the best work on Landauer in any language, German not excepted, and it is not likely to be superseded for a long time to come.

Why the renewed interest in Landauer? What makes him an important figure (Rocker called him a "spiritual giant")? In the first place, his tragic and brutal death at the hands of the soldiers of emergent totalitarianism continues to arouse both indignation and compassion. He was the most famous anarchist martyr of the German Revolution. He was also the most influential German anarchist intellectual of the 20th century, with the possible exception of Rocker himself. His work was praised by such eminent German writers as Ernst Toller, Hermann Hesse and Arnold Zweig. In *Der Sozialist* (Berlin, 1891-99, 1909-15) he edited one of the most impressive radical periodicals in modern German history. Although his novel,

Paul Avrich teaches history at Queens College. His Kronstadt 1921 *has been reissued in paperback by W.W. Norton & Co.*

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The Preacher of Death, is diffuse, meandering and repetitious, he was a sensitive critic of drama and poetry, producing original essays on Shakespeare, Goethe, Hölderlin, Strindberg and Walt Whitman. He also composed what the German writer Hans Blüher called the finest love letters of the 20th century. He was in close touch with writers of the German Expressionist movement—above all with Toller and Georg Kaiser—and he played an active part in the *avant-garde* German theatre, being affiliated with the Neue Freie Volksbühne movement from 1892 until his death.

Beyond this, Landauer made his mark as a prolific translator, both of anarchist and non-anarchist writers. He rendered into German works by Proudhon, Kropotkin, Oscar Wilde and George Bernard Shaw, as well as the poems of Walt Whitman, of whom he was a devoted and lifelong enthusiast. (In *Leaves of Grass* he saw reflected his own belief that man carries the world within himself, and as Minister of Education in Bavaria in 1919 he proposed to introduce Whitman's poetry into the syllabus of every schoolchild.) Finally, he produced a modern rendition of the sermons and essays of Meister Eckhart, the German medieval mystic, whose philosophy he greatly admired.

Landauer is well-known, too, for his friendship with the Jewish mystical philosopher Martin Buber. Under Landauer's influence, Buber became a libertarian and a member of Landauer's Socialist Bund. It was Buber who first published Landauer's best-known essay "Die Revolution" (1907), and who painstakingly collected and edited Landauer's writings and correspondence after his death. A chapter in Buber's *Paths in Utopia,* moreover, remains one of the few serious appraisals of Landauer in English.

Landauer, then, was an extremely versatile figure. Journalist and philosopher, novelist and critic—his range of interests was impressive. This accounts perhaps for the different perspectives from which his biographers have viewed him. For Maurer he was a "mystical anarchist," for Lunn a "romantic Socialist," for Wolf Kalz, his German biographer, a "cultural Socialist and anarchist." Landauer, however, used a different label, calling himself an "Anarchist-Socialist." Influenced by such diverse thinkers as Spinoza and Schopenhauer, Nietzsche and Ibsen, Proudhon and Bakunin, Kropotkin and Tolstoy, he was at once a Socialist and an individualist, a romantic and a mystic, a militant and an advocate of passive resistance. He was also indebted to the Arts and Crafts movement of Ruskin and Morris and to the Garden City movement of Geddes and Howard. Yet from all these disparate elements he was able to work out a coherent social philosophy and theory of revolution.

Landauer was born on April 7, 1870, of a middle-class Jewish family in Karlsruhe in southwestern Germany, a region with a long history of social dissent dating from the Middle Ages, and in which the two other leading German anarchists, Johann Most and Rudolf Rocker, were born and raised. That was the year of the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian War, which marked the emergence of Germany as a centralized military power. Against this expanding Leviathan, Landauer was to fight throughout his 50-year life. At the same time, he also opposed the centralized and statist version of socialism embodied in the German Social Democratic Party.

In 1892, having studied at the Universities of Heidelberg, Berlin and Strasbourg, Landauer joined a dissident Marxist group in Berlin known as Die Jungen (The Young Ones), which had been expelled from the Social Democratic Party the previous year. Assuming the editorship of the group's weekly paper, *Der Sozialist,* he evolved a decentralist and anti-authoritarian critique of Marxism along the lines of Bakunin and Kropotkin, calling for the replacement of the state with a federation of autonomous communes organized from below. Like Kropotkin and William Morris, Landauer admired the decentralized communal life of the Middle Ages, "a totality of independent units," he called it, "a society of societies." Although he accepted the notion of class struggle, he was repelled by the dogmatic rigidity of Marxist theory as well as by all forms of centralized bureaucratic authority, economic as well as political. In 1893 he was one of the dissidents—Rosa Luxemburg was another—excluded from the Zurich Congress of the Second International, which caused Amilcare Cipriani, the veteran Italian revolutionary, to walk out, protesting, "I go with those you have banished, with the victims of your intolerance and brutality." Landauer was again expelled—together with Errico Malatesta, Ferdinand Domela Nieuwenhuis and other anarchist delegates—from the London Congress in 1896, the last time that the anarchists sought admission to the gatherings of the Socialist International. In his *Aufruf zum Sozialismus,* published in 1911, Landauer went so far as to call Marxism "the plague of our age and the curse of the Socialist movement."

In 1893, after the Zurich Congress, Landauer published his novel, *The Preacher of Death,* but his literary activities were interrupted by a term in prison for disseminating "seditious materials" in *Der Sozialist,* the appearance of which was temporarily suspended. Though he was sent to jail again a number of times—once for criticizing the Berlin chief of police—he continued to publish *Der Sozialist* until the end of the decade, making it a journal of high intellectual quality if limited agitational value, for its increasingly theoretical and philosophical orientation prevented it from winning a large working-class audience. Its appeal was more and more to intellectuals and professionals rather than to factory hands and farmers. This provoked dissension among the working-class members of its staff, who objected that the paper was losing its effectiveness as an instrument of anarchist propaganda. Though Landauer tried to alter his approach, he did not go far enough, and in 1899 dwindling readership forced *Der Sozialist* to cease publication.

By that time Landauer had come to abandon his frontal assaults upon capitalism and the state. Previously, his thinking had been dominated by the revolutionary anarchism of Bakunin and Kropotkin. Not that he lost interest in these figures. Of Bakunin he remarked, "I have loved and admired him from the first day I came across him," and in 1901 he edited with Max Nettlau a German collection of Bakunin's writings. During the next few years, moreover, he translated several of Kropotkin's most important books. Yet after the turn of the century he fell more and more under the influence of Tolstoy, and especially of Proudhon, whom he called "the greatest Socialist of them all." He drew increasingly on Proudhon's mutualism in forming his own philosophy, adopting the notion of a People's Bank that would enable the small producer to obtain cheap credit as well as facilitating the fair exchange of his products. More and more his emphasis was on a peaceful social revolution and on the importance of libertarian education, especially as developed by Francisco Ferrer and his movement of Modern Schools. While he remained devoted to Kropotkin, it was less for the militant and revolutionary aspects of his thinking than for his ethical approach, his theory of mutual aid, and his stress on decentralized cooperative production.

Blending the federalist principles of Kropotkin and Proudhon, Landauer called for a society based on voluntary cooperation and mutual aid, "a society

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DEPARTURE

My father is standing on a railroad platform.
Tears pool in his eyes, as though the face
glimmering in the window were the face of someone
he was once. But the other has forgotten;
as my father watches he turns away,
drawing the shade over his face,
goes back to his reading.

And already in its deep groove
the train is waiting with its breath of ashes.

Louise Glück

of equalitarian exchange based on regional communities, rural communities which combine agriculture and industry." He spoke less and less of class struggle. "Direct action" now meant the creation of peaceful cooperatives, combined with passive resistance to the state rather than armed rebellion or acts of propaganda by the deed. For Landauer, moreover, "general strike" came to mean not the cessation of work but the continuation of work for one's own benefit and under one's own self-management. Viewing the state as the negation of love and humanity, he called for its gradual replacement by voluntary communities. He appealed to workers, peasants and intellectuals alike to awaken from their stupor and opt out of the state system of coercion, exploitation and injustice by forming their own rural and urban communes.

Socialism for Landauer was no longer the inauguration all at once of something new, not a sudden apocalyptic act, but the discovery and development of something already present and growing, something "always just beginning" and "always moving." His idea resembled the celebrated IWW slogan of "building the new society within the shell of the old." In his best-known writings, *Die Revolution* and *Aufruf zum Sozialismus,* he called on the people to create a free society "outside" and "alongside" the existing one; he urged them to "step outside capitalism" and "begin to be human beings"—to create what we would now call an "alternative society" in the form of libertarian enclaves within the established order that would serve as an inspiration and a model for others to follow. In other words, he conceived of revolution no longer as a violent mass upheaval but as the peaceful and gradual creation of a "counter-culture."

In formulating this conception Landauer was strongly influenced by the 16th-century French writer Etienne de la Boétie and his criticism of the "voluntary servitude" of the masses. La Boétie had said that the people should withdraw their support from authoritarian institutions and form their own libertarian ones; if no one will obey the tyrant his power will vanish. Dropping out of centralized, coercive and bureaucratic society now became Landauer's central message. His Socialist Bund, founded in 1908, was intended to be the beginning of such an alternative society, consisting of natural and voluntary bodies that the anarchists were to call "affinity groups" during the Spanish Civil War. At the same time, the Socialist Bund was to be a libertarian alternative to the authoritarian and hierarchical Social Democratic Party. By 1911 it had no less than twenty groups in Berlin, Zurich and other German and Swiss cities, and even one in Paris.

But though Landauer had become a spokesman for voluntary cooperation and passive resistance, he never entirely repudiated mass revolution. He never rejected spontaneous popular insurrection; and though he was opposed to individual terrorism, he always retained a sympathy for the terrorists and understood the despair which drove them to act. First and foremost, however, he believed that there had to be a spiritual revolution within the individual. The social problem, he said, cannot be solved by violence or by the seizure of power. As he put it in his most famous passage, "the state is a condition, a certain relationship between human beings, a mode of human behavior; we destroy it by contracting other relationships, by behaving differently."

During the years preceding the First World War Landauer was a familiar figure within German artistic and intellectual circles. Tall, thin and narrow-shouldered, with fine features and expressive eyes, he often wore a long cape and an old-fashioned hat. His full beard and long dark hair gave him the appearance of an Old Testament prophet. Thoughtful, intense, always searching for the truth, Landauer consistently avoided all dogmas. "One felt when he spoke," wrote Rudolf Rocker, "that every word came from his soul, bore the stamp of absolute integrity." But he was a prophet without honor in his own country. He earned the undying hatred of many of his compatriots by his opposition to the war and his admission of German aggression. "War is an act of power, of murder, of robbery," he wrote as early as 1912 in anticipation of Randolph Bourne. "It is the sharpest and clearest expression of the state." At Christmas, 1916, he wrote a letter to Woodrow Wilson emphasizing the need not only for the conclusion of peace but also for a league of nations to control arms and insure the protection of human rights throughout the world.

When revolution broke out in Bavaria on November 7, 1918, the first anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution, Landauer was summoned to Munich by his friend Kurt Eisner, the Socialist President of the new Bavarian republic. Landauer, however, did not become a member of Eisner's Cabinet, as is sometimes asserted. Rather, together with his comrades Erich Mühsam and Ernst Toller, he played a central role in a movement to organize councils of workers, farmers, soldiers and sailors to launch the kind of federalist society which he had so long been advocating. He served with Mühsam in the Revolutionary Workers' Council and in the Central Workers' Council of Bavaria. He continued to favor a system of councils and cooperatives, based on autonomy and self-management, over either a parliamentary government or a proletarian dictatorship with state control of industry and agriculture. Differing sharply with Mühsam on this point, he had been critical of the revolutionary dictatorship created in Russia by Lenin, writing in 1918 that the Bolsheviks were "working for a military regime which will be much more horrible than anything the world has ever seen." In place of the Marxist vision of state socialism and a dictatorship of the proletariat, Landauer continued to press for a decentralized society of free cooperatives and communities with local control and workers' self-management from below. Not that he expected the stateless millennium to be achieved overnight. "It does not occur to me to desire a finished result," he said. "I will always see something beyond the end. I am concerned with the process, and we are at last in the process."

But his hopes, however limited, were cut short. Following the assassination of Eisner (whose death came hard upon the murders of Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht in Berlin), Landauer became Minister of Education in a new Council Republic proclaimed in Munich

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on April 7, 1919, his 49th birthday. This was a fitting post for a disciple of Ferrer, for a man who set so high a value on education in achieving the spiritual revolution of his dreams. But his tenure in office lasted only one week, collapsing when the Communists assumed power. Although he drew up a program of libertarian education for citizens of all ages, adults as well as children, it was never put into practice.

On May 1, 1919, the Minister of Defense in Berlin, Gustav Noske, sent Freikorps units to crush the Bavarian revolution. The following day Landauer was arrested. In the prison courtyard an officer stepped up and struck him across the face, the signal for a savage massacre. Set upon by the troops, Landauer was beaten with truncheons and rifle butts, kicked, stomped, and trampled upon. "Kill me, then!" he exclaimed. "To think that you are human beings!" At that he was shot to death. His body was stripped and thrown into a wash house. (Erich Mühsam was to suffer the same fate at the hands of the Nazis in 1934.)

Noske, a Social Democrat, congratulated the commander of the punitive force for the "discreet and wholly successful way in which you have conducted your operation in Munich." The soldier who shot Landauer was acquitted of all charges after claiming that he was merely "following orders." The officer who struck Landauer across the face was fined 500 marks. Another officer was given five weeks in jail, not for murdering Landauer but for stealing his watch. The superior officer in charge was never brought to trial. A monument to Landauer, erected by the Anarcho-Syndicalist Union with contributions from the workers of Munich, was torn down by the Nazis after Hitler came to power. It has yet to be rebuilt. □

Power of Ecological Thinking

THE FUTURE OF TECHNOLOGICAL CIVILIZATION. *By Victor Ferkiss. George Braziller. 369 pp. $12.50.*

JACK PHELAN

Let us deal with the bones of Professor Ferkiss' argument, and then let us take up the issues he raises in technology and politics; finally, a word or two about books of this type.

Like most of us well-read college professors, Ferkiss is terrified by the three P's—Plutonium, Pollution and Population. Any one of the complex of actual and potential disasters symbolized by each P can do us in within a century or less. For Ferkiss, each of these threats is linked to the other two by the common note of technological power serving what he calls Liberalism—the Western Idea of self-aggrandizement through the scientific and industrial conquest of nature and to hell with the communal consequences.

If human beings are to maintain their humanity, even perhaps their existence, we must cast off this self-destructive liberalism and guide technology to overcome, rather than aggravate, the three-P threat. We need a new philosophy on a global scale or we are doomed. This new philosophy Ferkiss calls Ecological Humanism, a very descriptive title for a mishmash of ideals that combines the nobility and vagueness of that cataract of proposals and manifestoes we have endured under the aegis of humanism and, more recently, of ecology. Basically, and Ferkiss does not feel obliged to depart from the basic often, EH espouses freedom for all, yet moderated by the need for discipline in the name of the common good. Freedom is directed toward the future, for which we must all work, and for group survival on "spaceship earth." The adoption of this philosophy by all human beings is essential, and the condition which will make this possible will be the birth of planetary consciousness, the planetary public, the world common good. Although Ferkiss does maintain a certain intellectual distance from the facts and history with which the book is crammed, he does become a somewhat impassioned advocate of EH, so that at times it sounds more like a church, or brotherhood of believers, than the vaguely grand non-scheme that it is. He uses phrases like "the ranks of," "the forces of" Ecological Humanism and even says that if you reject EH you are compelled to see "human history as utterly without meaning." Strong stuff.

Before we take Ferkiss to task on technology and politics, let it be said that he is far superior to people like Charles Reich, or Philip Slater, or Theodore Roszak, all of whom are better phrase makers than he, but without any evidence of a tenth of Ferkiss' impressive acquaintance with history, philosophy and even current events. In a very real sense, Ferkiss knows too much to write a successful book. He feels obliged to begin everything from the egg; in 3 pages he will go from Socrates to Fred Hoyle just to make a point that most of us would accept as stipulative about matter. Reading most of this book is like a review of a good liberal arts education under the urgent tutelage of a very competent professor who wants to make one important point, but is afraid you will miss it unless he first tells you everything he knows.

Unfortunately, he does not know very much about technology. His definitions are broad. At one point he is willing to concede the birds and bees a technology of nests and hives. Such a broad understanding is acceptable, provided it is consistent. But it is not. Ferkiss is worried about heavy industrial technology, the systematic exploitation of resources by means of complex processes that are not easily stopped once started, despite his touching faith in the power of Ecological Humanism. He repeats the media canard that our new technology is fundamentally one of information and communication, as if transportation, energy transformation and materials extraction did not require and get far more labor and capital. Communications is the glamour technology and the means of selling us the way of life required to serve the machine, but it is only the bright blinking light that tells you the vast Leviathan beneath is laboring hugely. With a philosopher's impatience, Ferkiss never discusses any particular technology even by way of example. It would be helpful to at least point out why we need oil and where we use it and how the whole petrochemical system is tied into both advanced and primitive economies around the world. Barry Commoner's modest teachings on the consequences of the switch to synthetics are at least talking about technology itself, and not the media mirage of technology with a capital T (and that rhymes with P).

Ferkiss wisely notes that the key to transformation is politics. People must be persuaded to act in a new way. Here his knowledge of history, which is impressive, fades away completely. This man actually believes that all people, the planetary public, will be converted to EH through something of a revolution that at times he compares to a guerrilla war, at times to a change of heart, of the Collective Heart. Ferkiss actually holds that all humanity is One, and this in a political sense that will require no World State. I quote: "...an ordered community with authority of a political nature . . .

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in accordance with a collective will." The mind boggles. The world I know is incorrigibly plural, with places like the Kalahari, Bangladesh, the South Bronx, and Palm Springs, with people like Robert Moses, Idi Amin, Israeli soldiers, the Teamsters Union, the Salvation Army, Roy Ash, the Shah of Iran, and Bill Buckley. Collective will! A short narrative on the Port of New York Authority's use of technology in relation to the collective will of New York and New Jersey might be more illuminating than the following two tenets of EH presented to the planetary public:

> Systemwide planning designed to deal holistically with problems must be combined with decentralized action which permits each individual to make a contribution to determining [*sic*] the state of the whole system.
>
> Cultural zoning should not always give the best land to the same subcultures. Motorboating should not be permitted to make safe or quiet swimming or sailing impossible; wilderness areas should be protected against motorcycles and snowmobiles; apartment buildings or city blocks could be zoned against dogs, small children, or loud late parties.

I suppose the last two extracts from the book reveal the fundamental flaw in Ferkiss' book, a flaw that he shares with less educated but more professional writers of the Alvin Toffler type. It is misplaced concreteness and misplaced abstraction. They take their own middle-class surroundings (of which I am a participant) for their concrete referents to "the world" that is abstractly reported on and analyzed by the press and by the social scientists. For this mishmash they prescribe, and we have natives of Reston, Va. standing for "humanity," and experiencing "future shock." This resonates with a New York editor and a book is born. To Ferkiss' great credit, he acknowledges this problem in his dismissal of Charles Reich and the "youth culture" which ignored the "bluing of America," to say nothing of the rest of the world.

Isaiah Berlin, in a study of Tolstoy, once found it useful to divide thinkers into two basic groups, which he called hedgehogs and foxes. The hedgehogs see a marvelous unity in things and are able to make history and personal experience fit a complex arabesque that forms a grand pattern. Such were Thomas of Aquin and Plato. The foxes see multiplicity, brief chains of cause and effect, to be sure, but no overwhelming rubric that makes an organized dance of all the data. Such were Machiavelli and, reluctantly, Tolstoy himself. On the whole, I find the hedgehogs admirable men who offer hope and an organizing vision that aids us in dealing with the world. The mistake is to equate the vision with reality itself, which the sad shrewdness of the fox understands all too well. For unfortunately the hedgehog has to ignore great oceans of evidence that spoil the aesthetics of his construction. More recent hedgehogs, like Teilhard de Chardin, have the grace to blandly exclude the stubborn and irreducible denials of their vision from their presentations. Ferkiss is too honest and too much the scholar to do the same, but as a result his vision lacks even the aesthetic appeal of the beautiful.

Instead, Ferkiss merely asserts that human history has meaning because human beings will somehow cease to be selfish and narrow and embrace the common planetary good, that will somehow be made clear to some kind of effective majority that will nonetheless respect the rights of the minority to act out another scenario. This is pious and we can all pray to our dim gods that it is prophecy, but it is not philosophy, it is not sociology, and it damn well isn't politics. □

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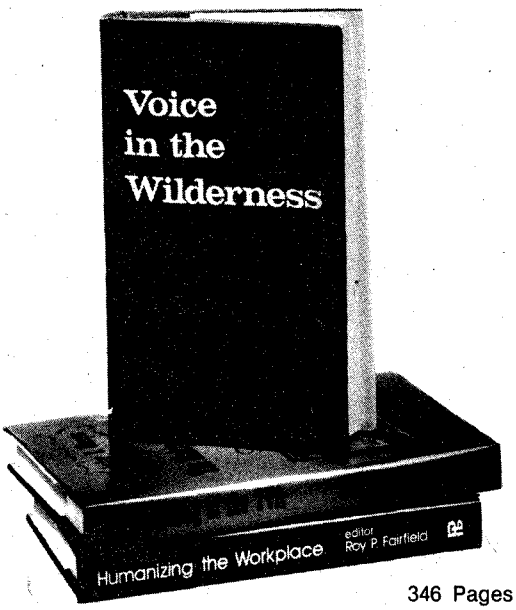

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'Anti-Poetic from the Start'

THE NOTEBOOKS OF DAVID IGNATOW. *Edited by Ralph J. Mills, Jr. Swallow Press. 375 pp. $9.95.*

JEROME MAZZARO

At the end of *The Notebooks of David Ignatow,* the poet is observed facing a tree, and the opposition symbolizes much of what is the concern of the book. "True," he observes, man "is of nature and in turn makes nature whatever his thoughts direct him to," but it is precisely this "controlling and forming nature to his needs" that removes man from any permanent identification. Ignatow variously describes the relationship as "children beating the breast of their mother for recognition as her superior," "a state of tension" in which both "are holding [their] own and giving in to neither," and a meal where man and nature are "cordial with one another," but that is all. Readers ought not, as a consequence, look for any consistency. The value of the book lies in the depth and sincerity with which Ignatow will approach a subject rather than in any program he wishes to impart.

"Dread," he says at one point, "is the chief emotion." "Pain," he announces at another, "is my favorite subject." He believes "pain is what attracts people to a subject, the manifestation and development of pain to its right conclusion." At still another time, he observes, "It is no good writing poetry out of nervousness. It makes poetry an ally of illness. One should write out of contentment and fulfillment, envisioning a beautiful day and giving oneself to it wholeheartedly." Yet again, he writes, "I am interested in no other subject but that of communication for that is where I feel the most urgency." And in one of the book's many epigrams, he also announces, "Those writers to whom words are more important than content earn my contempt. Those writers to whom words are measured by the content at hand earn my respect. Those writers are the only ones that count."

Most of these concerns are connected to personal situations that *The Notebooks* movingly records. The poet has disappointed his father by becoming a writer; he has failed his mother and his wife by not being a good provider; he has angered his brother-in-law by not seeming interested enough in the bindery business; he has driven his son into a breakdown by being too interested in his own success; he has had to make do too long, and with too little. Always, he observes, he is "thinking and talking money, even in my sleep. . . . My writing is filled with it as is my life. I cannot think of one existing without the other. . . . Bryan said, You shall not crucify man upon a cross of gold. I say man is crucified on the dollar sign. He is the contorted figure on the two uprights."

Yet, Ignatow's allegiances are more often to justice than survival and to history rather than immediacy. He resists saying that "life is a cycle as Joyce does or a perne in a gyre" and prefers thinking of himself as "the kind of poet that makes it tough for himself by sticking to story." This linearity is more often evolutionist than Christian and, in recent years, nearer to Vico than to Darwin: "We are about to witness the total disintegration of civilization as we live it today and the violent emergence of a new order of living in which life alone will be treasured, survival alone counted as important, social status, professionalism, the sciences, the arts subsumed to this proposition." This emergence will be a "returning to first things, to be reborn again into another condition," the Adamic man. The rebirth is closely allied to reveries of childhood, the squirrels and cats and silence after dark that are part of his remembered youth.

The linearity is also associated with the industrial imagination. The principle of selling novelty that Alfred Sloan introduced into the automobile industry as a corollary of biological evolution, as well as Henry Ford's tendency to equate man with the machine, colors not only the statements and metaphors of the book but also the sense of pace it presents. As Ignatow explains, "My wife and I come from the same environment of factory life, with its speedups and production schedules and madness. We both suffer from the same jitters when we think of the factory life. Much of our thinking and deeds today are influenced by the feverish tempo of the small factory racing against time to produce for profit." In particular, the condition has left him complaining of flux and hardness: beliefs are ever "on the go, in question before new material," and his associates "cynical, hard and callous, like the working of a machine."

Still, it is the poet most people will be coming to *The Notebooks* to discover. Ignatow's ambitions in this area are clear. His job is "to remind poets that there is a world outside" and that "poetry is a social phenomenon and under influence of social pressures which can be understood as the intellectual climate predominating at the time." Iambic pentameter is the result of an agrarian culture "which was able to follow the seasons with an assured regularity of necessity, its life depending upon conformity"; free form, as it exists, "depends on a society which is permissive of free form," and "experimental verse" requires a toleration of error: it occurs when "the man writing it is an experimental person" and since no one ever "lives that way, except for short stretches," it "must lead to conclusions, resolutions," and a more settled way of life. Ignatow's own dream is to become "the national poet of America, the central voice, the one who speaks for the millions and who speaks to the person, who makes listening a must by the soul of his voice."

Like most poets of his generation, Ignatow believes that this coalescing of poet and society is to occur through the poet's personal experiences rather than through an assumed public voice. His occasional chastisement of himself for not feeling "the slightest concern about the world" and of being "simply concerned about myself" fades when viewed in the perspectives of his love-hate relationship with his father, his utter joy at becoming a father again in his 40s and despair at his part in his son's illness, his anger at the political persecution of William Carlos Williams, his compassion for the starving abroad, and his ageless wonder at the love he feels for his wife. At these moments there is such a "merging of the personality of the writer in collaboration with his time" that there can be no question of the poet's having achieved in *The Notebooks* the same interaction that has placed him among the finest poets of our day.

There are also reactions to significant works of literature and to writers. When Ignatow announces, for instance, that Walt Whitman's *Democratic Vistas* "is childish in its disillusionment" or that Herman Melville's *Moby-Dick* is a "disguised essay . . . against responsibility," one can see at work his own principle for good criticism: it "must be an inspiration to the writer who reads it." There exists in these observations "an imaginative perspective beyond the subject under immediate study." So, too, when Ignatow recognizes the importance of Ezra Pound's "scholarship, lyricism, and protest" on money matters, he does so recognizing that "nowhere in the *Cantos* does one sense a relationship of any consummate tenderness for any immedi-

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ate person within his ken, as one would expect in the Chinese poets themselves from whom Pound has taken." Even Williams, in whose "direct, full-powered descent" Ignatow depicts himself, is viewed as an aesthete whose "use of abstract imagery . . . reveals nothing of his emotions or ideas but an excitement with the image." Ignatow's statement that "my poetic tradition is and has been anti-poetic from the start" would have shocked the older poet who reacted so sensitively in 1934 to Wallace Stevens' assertion that his writing combined poetry with the anti-poetic.

In his selection and arrangement, Ralph J. Mills, Jr. has done an excellent job of conveying the poet's wide-ranging interests. The entries start in 1934 but concentrate mainly on the 1950s and 1960s, when Ignatow was gaining recognition with such books as *The Gentle Weight Lifter* (1955), *Say Pardon* (1961), *Figures of the Human* (1964), *Rescue the Dead* (1968) and *Poems 1934-1969* (1970). The years mark the deaths of the poet's parents, his final efforts in business, his emergence as a poet-teacher, and a renewed joy in life. *The Notebooks* is a powerfully affecting spiritual journey from which Ignatow emerges with new strength, tenderness, self-knowledge and the will to love. □

MUSIC

DAVID HAMILTON

The first demand we are likely to make of a new opera (as, indeed, of a play or film) based on a well-known work of fiction concerns its faithfulness to the source, in letter or at least in spirit. This is not necessarily the wisest question, for such demands have in the past often proved ultimately irrelevant. Operas have been known to outlive the fame, or at least the general currency, of their originals; except perhaps in Germany, more people today encounter Verdi's *Luisa Miller* than Schiller's *Kabale und Liebe*, and are little concerned about the ways in which the former distorts the latter. And some operas (e.g., Verdi's *Macbeth*), although subjecting well-known material to substantial changes, still manage to make their own way.

All the same, it is difficult not to approach the opera that librettist Myfanwy Piper and composer Benjamin Britten have made from Thomas Mann's *Death in Venice* without asking the question, "Is it faithful to the story?", simply because the novella bulks so large in our cultural baggage, the classic literary embodiment of the tension between restraint and passion in artistic creativity. Measured by this standard, *Death in Venice* surely emerges on the stage of the Metropolitan Opera diminished in weight and texture. The musical setting is skillful, often beautiful, but its resonances are only sporadically sufficient to offset the losses undergone in the transferal. The letter of the original is generally observed, but the spirit is weakened.

Some of the losses are almost inevitable, leading one to question the wisdom of the undertaking. Mann's narrative approach offers little direct dialogue, a great deal of indirect meditation on the part of the author's narrative persona, who naturally vanishes en route to the stage. In those ruminations —and in the circumstance that they originate outside the protagonists—lies much of the tale's scope of reference; even though Mrs. Piper squeezes many of the ideas into soliloquies for the already sufficiently self-analytical Aschenbach, his vantage point ought necessarily to be more limited than the narrator's. The language, perhaps because of time restrictions, is also more limited, often uncomfortably telegraphic to the point of abruptness: a writer who makes declarations such as "I turned away from the paradox and daring of my youth, renounced bohemianism and sympathy with the outcast soul, to concentrate upon simplicity, beauty, form . . ." should be working for Barnes & Noble, not for Alfred A. Knopf. The accumulation of these bald paraphrases seriously undermines the credibility of the leading character.

Britten has set many of these inner-narrative passages in a conversational recitative, sparsely punctuated with "real music," thus placing them apart, saving time, insuring audibility—and also sacrificing momentum. Indeed, only in the second of the two acts (divided at the point where Aschenbach acknowledges his love for the beautiful Polish boy Tadzio) is a compelling forward motion achieved. Act I flows smoothly enough when it is allowed to, especially the gently rocking music that accompanies Aschenbach's gondola trips from the Lido to Venice and back (the development of this material, throughout the opera, is a characteristic and accomplished demonstration of Britten's considerable craftsmanship)—yet the line between serenity and vapidity is often dangerously thin.

Two other Piper-Britten devices also press close to that difficult boundary. Because Tadzio never speaks to Aschenbach, he, and by extension his family and his playmates on the beach, are all represented by dancers rather than singers, and are assigned an exotically colored, harmonically static musical idiom, dominated by percussion timbres (not one of Britten's strengths as an orchestrator, oddly—his use of the vibraphone is particularly unimaginative). This creates further "dead" areas, and compounds the awkwardness generated by Mrs. Piper's single conspicuous addition to the story line, a scene entitled "The Feasts of the Sun," following Aschenbach's abortive attempt to leave the city. At this point, to be sure, Mann introduces into Aschenbach's thoughts various images of classical Greece, and from this suggestion the opera creates an Apollonian pageant, complete with choral odes and an embarrassing pentathlon—Tadzio wins every event. (This athletic prowess is also an invention, creating an inconsistency. Mann hints that Tadzio, though fair, may also be sickly, and wins his place among the boys through beauty and grace of form and manner; thus his defeat by a friend in a wrenching fight, just before Aschenbach's death, loses, in the opera, its original symbolic significance.) This sequence (not aided, I feel, by Frederick Ashton's angular choreography) hangs like an albatross around the neck of Act I, already an hour long when the extended, unrelent-

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ingly placid pageant arrives. It's conceptually problematic, too—not clearly a dream, like the Dionysian orgy that terrorizes Aschenbach's sleep later on, but surely not "reality" either, for everyone except the writer turns up on the Lido beach in classical garb, the dancing boys in Greeky briefs instead of their earlier Edwardian tank tops.

Later, in the scenes depicting Aschenbach's pursuit of the Polish family through the streets and canals, real urgency develops, and also a range of harmonic richness that begins to match the story's resonances. This tension then debouches into Aschenbach's most lyrical soliloquy ("Does beauty lead to wisdom, Phaedrus?"), whose arching lines, in a style reaching back more than three decades to Britten's *Michelangelo Sonnets*, are accompanied by only piano and harp; from here to the opera's end, the textural sparseness effectively sets into relief the many allusions to motifs established earlier, moving with a calm and eloquent inevitability. Still, one feels that the music never quite attains the richness of implication, the specific gravity of Mann's prose, which seems to draw the whole fate of Western culture into the demise of this single writer. (Luchino Visconti's generally misguided film of *Death in Venice* was surely wrong to transform Aschenbach into the composer Gustav Mahler, but the "weight," at least, of Mahler's music on the sound track, its emotional complexity if not its specific colors, was of the right order.)

The sensation of Mann diminished is more palpable on the stage of the Met than in the excellent recording made with the cast of the British production (London OSA 13109, three discs, $20.98). *Death in Venice* was written for the small stage of the Aldeburgh Festival, a pocket handkerchief compared to the Met's king-size bed sheet, and the same physical production has been brought to New York, with untoward results. John Piper's handsome, colorful backcloths and projections (their tone not really right for Mann, although perhaps congruent with the opera) are conspicuously too small: views through little windows rather than encompassing panoramas. And Colin Graham's production, fluent in individual detail, is surely overextended by the space, leaving awkward visual gaps that fail to carry through the almost cinematic continuity of the score's transitions. (The recording, naturally, escapes this problem, and is "produced" with great skill, placing Aschenbach clearly in the stereo picture so that he seems a kind of narrator-observer. Curiously, the dramatic continuity is often more convincing from this exclusively aural perspective.)

To my surprise, the music sacrifices much less to the change of scale than I would have expected: the smallish orchestra, skillfully used, creates impressive climaxes, and the words project with remarkable clarity. Peter Pears (Aschenbach) is, of course, a master of his native language and of Britten's idiom; his is an extraordinary performance, a miracle of vocal preservation, technique and sheer stamina. The other importation from the original cast, John Shirley-Quirk, in the sextuple role that Mrs. Piper has assembled around the "nemesis" characters in Mann's story, is an equivalent virtuoso. On the recording, the offstage voice of Apollo is the overripe sound of counter-tenor James Bowman; at the Met, amplification exaggerates the quavering nasality of Andrea Velis' character tenor. In both performance and recording, the large cast of minor characters was well filled. To my eye the Met's Tadzio, Bryan Pitts, looked too mature—measured in Mann's terms as well as boy's. The admirable conductor is Steuart Bedford. (The Met production will be broadcast, over the usual stations, on Saturday afternoon, December 14.) □

DANCE

NANCY GOLDNER

Tadzio is conceived as a non-singing role in Britten's *Death in Venice* because he and Aschenbach do not speak to each other. Furthermore, were Tadzio to speak (sing) to anyone else or to himself, his essence as Aschenbach perceives it—that is, his physical being—would be nullified. For all we know, Tadzio hasn't a thought, or a song, in his head. The reason he has been cast in the opera as a dancer is more complicated. It would have been possible to choose a Tadzio purely on the basis of looks and have him simply appear on stage at the appropriate times. An ideal Tadzio is younger and slighter than Bryan Pitts, from the New York City Ballet's ensemble. But this course would run the risk of establishing Tadzio as a presence, or symbol, before he is established as flesh and blood. For the opera to beat the novella to the draw in the matter of significance would be an offense to Mann and his readers and, in terms of the opera's own effect, corny. So if Tadzio is to be neither a singer nor a piece of lovely scenery, he must dance. Besides, dance is an excellent medium through which to express physical beauty; some would argue that it is a metaphor for beauty.

However, the assumption that dance is a metaphor for beauty has gotten many choreographers into trouble—the kind of trouble that the people responsible for the opera perhaps envisaged had Tadzio been assigned to a non-dancer. It can produce a situation in which the dance-beauty equation is the given, superseding the notion that dance is first of all an activity. All of those who cough nervously at the mention of the word archetype know that the weight of metaphor or symbol must at the very least consist of the weight of all the events that have preceded it; otherwise, it's bloated weight. A concomitant of bloat is often sentimental, body-beautiful choreography. Considering the novella's homosexual overtones, the role of Tadzio is a sitting duck for such an approach.

Any ballet by Frederick Ashton is more interesting than the work he has done for *Death in Venice*, but I suspect that few choreographers would have steered clear of the ballet-is-beauty fallacy as assiduously as Ashton has done. As a countermeasure, perhaps, Ashton has taken as much statement as possible out of the dance. In *Death in Venice* dancing is not only activity first of all, but second and third of all. The rough edges of movement are smoothed over and action is connected with measured breath; it is done in time to music. In other words, a choreographer and a dancer are at work, but they modify their talents with a strong dose of the prosaic. When Tadzio strolls around the streets of Venice, he strolls. The beach games with his friends are more orderly than such play in real life, more gentle most of the time, and more pleasing to watch, but they claim to be no more than games. Even the dream sequence of Olympic games, which could easily have become the big "dance number"—and which, incidentally, could well have been omitted—Ashton maintains at a literal level.

When he does turn movement into a glamorization, or stylization, of itself, it is for a specific dramatic purpose. In the Olympic games, for example, we know that Tadzio is the winner of the broad jump because he does a fancy *grand jeté*. The incongruity of this *pas* is a measure of the choreography's otherwise pedestrian mode. Tadzio's first appearance before Aschenbach is a dancing walk (*à la* Anthony Tudor), and I think the only reason that Ashton shaped this walk into dance steps was to establish immediately that Tadzio is not going to sing. If there is any dance number, it is a very brief one at the end, when Tadzio swims out to sea. And a beautiful passage it is, full of the faintly lazy, sensu-

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ous dips and curves that Ashton fully developed for Margot Fonteyn in *Ondine*. This is the only moment when Ashton takes the liberty of injecting his own unique voice, but it is hardly a gratuitous touch. It closes *Death in Venice* on an extraordinarily serene, almost autumnal, note by suggesting that in death Aschenbach is released from the emotional-intellectual stasis that brought forth in one breath a declaration of love and a denunciation of the style in which the declaration was couched.

Ashton's calculated non-use of dance sustains and extends the point of view upon which the novella and opera are based. The opera is essentially an internal monologue for Aschenbach. Aside from the mere fact of existing, Tadzio awaits Aschenbach for definition. Ashton's dances verify Tadzio's existence and no more. To record without either amplification or reduction is a tricky balancing act, and Ashton has hit it pretty much dead center.

As Tadzio, Bryan Pitts must find several centers, and he too hits them right. He must smile at Aschenbach yet leave open the possibility that he is not smiling at him. He must move like a youngster, but he must have a simplicity and nobility unequaled by his peers. He can be neither introverted nor extroverted, gay nor moody. He must be nice, pleasant. Finally, he must not move like a dancer, but he must embody the dancer's grace.

By forming the Heritage Dance Theatre Agnes de Mille intends to show to Americans one aspect of their cultural history. It's a nice idea, entertaining and instructive, but the lecture-demonstration she presented in New York on November 3 was so full of hackneyed history and failed promises that I began to wonder if young Americans were not better off staying at home and grooving on the rock dancing that de Mille summarily denounced at the program's conclusion. Just before she burst out against what she termed rock dancing's formless, anti-social structure, her dancers were seen having a fine time doing the stuff without social, political or moral repercussions. But that was just one of the contradictions between what de Mille said and what we saw. Exercises that were supposed to illustrate varying emotional timbres illustrated different *port de bras*. Mimed vignettes did show the expressive possibilities of gesture, but what they expressed were trivial social situations, amusing and readable but lacking the specificity and deftness of the Mack Sennett comedies to which de Mille compared them. After she made the interesting observation that dancers find it difficult simply to walk in a dance but that it is possible to teach them how to do it, we saw the dancers in a series of highly stylized walks, which of course are dancers' fortes. Graham exercises were nicely arranged to show the liberation of the torso, but they were executed by a ballet student whose torso was attractive but trained to be neither liberated nor powerful. A ballet sequence intended to demonstrate the earthy, sexy style of Fanny Elsler could just as easily have been a demonstration of Marie Taglioni's ethereal style. A second ballet divertissement was intended to portray the man as porter, illustrating the decadent period of ballet when woman was king, but the sequence that really illustrated this phenomenon was de Mille's own choreography, a love scene from *Paint Your Wagon*.

The ballet episodes perpetuated the prejudice that ballet is un-American. Similarly, we heard statements about how the Massachusetts population in colonial times didn't dance (oh, those bad old Puritans) and how the square dance is more egalitarian than the English court dances from which it derives because the square dance is done in a circle. The French court dances were prettified, but at least the connection between them and ballet panned out in demonstration as well as in lecture. So did the link between the Irish jig (done in brilliant show-biz style by James Jamison) and black tap dancing (done with equally brilliant irony by Honi Coles) and so too, for that matter, would the English court dance-square dance sequence have panned out had de Mille let the dancing do the talking for her. □

ARCHITECTURE / JANE HOLTZ KAY

"Buildings," as an architectural editor put it at a recent recycling conference, "have been brought to a par with tin cans and coke bottles." Rehabilitate, renovate, reuse—the terms multiply. Preservation is the new architectural populism. Even before the economy brought the bulldozer to a halt, preservationists had passed beyond the first evangelical wave of the few to a second generation of the many.

In 1950, only two schools of architecture gave preservation courses; now more than half of them do. A decade ago, the architectural press ran only nine articles on preservation; in 1973, there were fifty-six. There are seventy landmark commissions and who can say how many walking tours? Even the General Services Administration, formerly a flattener, has joined HUD and the National Endowment for the Arts to cherish some old buildings. After great struggles, the old Federal Court in St. Paul and the Post Office in Washington, D.C. will live. Railroad stations are no longer "white elephants" but "potential community centers." The list grows. So, less fortunately, does the sense that preservation might enter a silly season, or worse.

Consider the following recent architectural objects for preservation:

¶ A 1930s Humble Oil storage tank near Putnam, Texas, equipped with a door and fitted into a flea market.

¶ A chicken coop in Georgetown, Del., "where America's broiler industry was started in 1923," added to the list of the National Register of Historic Places by the Delmarva Poultry Industry Association.

¶ A Herculaneum villa, modeled after one buried under 100 feet of lava in 79 A.D., and paid for by J. Paul Getty; this year it attracted almost 250,000 visitors in Malibu, Calif.

Preservation, for decades the plaything of Kentucky colonels and Newport cigarette heiresses, enters its new age wearing the trappings of the old. In the last decade, antiquarian-preservationists have been saving single farmhouses while urban centers decayed; put up Colonial Williamsburgs and Sturbridge Villages while real vintage neighborhoods suffered the onslaught of billboard and gas station. Elitist, hermetic, seeking a Jeffersonian idyll, the first generation of preservationists museum-ified the past while the present became a slum. Now we must watch out for such lingering elitism in the new generation.

"We optimistically planted azaleas, grass and a redwood tree," Savannah planner Picot deBoisfeuillet Floyd wrote recently. "I saw the same hard eyes and pinched slum faces I remembered from my childhood," he went on in the *AIA Journal*. "I wonder where the children have gone. Today, that street seems like a movie setting to me. There are green strips where the packed black earth was. The missing bricks in the façades have been replaced. The awful slum row across the street . . . is one of Savannah's swankiest addresses, its stucco fronts pointed up to look like stonework, neat little gardens at front and rear

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doors." And where are the hard-eyed children?

For the poor, preservation could easily become a new kind of federal bulldozer. Those who once lived in "swank" neighborhoods like Savannah, or Georgetown and Beacon Hill, are long gone, but the rehabilitation of fine old architecture need not be at the expense of its present inhabitants. HUD has already given some money to community developers, as it lavished it on commercial ones. Those who would salvage old architecture must attend to ways to funnel money for the purpose to poor ethnic groups. The housing allowance, the easing of mortgage credit, are tools to let human restoration accompany the architectural sort. A second generation should also resist the false nostalgia of the antiquarians; reactionary and reclusive, it brought a fake historicism, boutiques instead of businesses: "Within twenty miles of Santa Fe, N.M., we have a 19th-century American village, an 18th-century Spanish village, a 17th-century historic zone, and an Indian pueblo which has been restored to pre-Conquest architecture by a Hollywood movie crew which wanted a pre-history stage," notes historian J.B. Jackson. Like Disneyland, no one lives there; there is no life except tourist life. That is not history, of course, but a vestige of an elite's dream of the scrubbed-up past.

Heritage is the operative word. Lacking a heritage, we lack an identity; a people without a past is a people without a face. We know that, but the word is used too indiscriminately. Commerce has gotten a better hold on heritage than has architecture. "We can buy a heritage home for $30,000 or use a Heritage cookbook," as Jackson notes. In the name of the bicentennial we could have a "heritage" eagle above every front door. Looking for a heritage and an identity, Arizona developers imported London Bridge and the Park Service is reconstructing a bygone fort in Rome, N.Y., while early industrial zones go begging. We need a new guide on *what* to preserve.

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THE RED COAT

The road
splays itself out
like a defeated woman.
I drive between
the soggy compost hills,
mole full,
and count the scrub pine
all the way north.

The pines dwarf.
Sagamore Bridge,
that yawn,
curls over the canal

and I enter
that mink land,
a teenage dream.
My left-over red coat and I
walk the beach,
a thumbs-up splotch
against January.

The water spreads
its thighs.
The heavy red coat
is a surfboard
and it laps out,
all hands singing.

Joan Norris

For, in fact, America is not very old and has never valued mere age. The nation of the fresh start should be the best equipped to learn that its heritage can come bearing a tag of the 1920s, or 1930s, or even yesterday. The Chrysler Building, lately earning the label "the cathedral of American business"; Rockefeller Center, a model of urbanity; the architecture of Frank Lloyd Wright or Louis Kahn; countless old downtowns, are a truer heritage. The second generation of preservation and heritage seekers should start to substitute visible quality for invisible "antiquity." Architectural preservation can be the simple housekeeping of civilized buildings and streetscapes, not just the starting from scratch of Ye Olde Plantations from mythical pasts.

To do so, this new generation of architectural preservationists will thus have to learn to like, if not love, messy reality. No longer can it take escapist suburban mores as a goal. "The dominant form of residence is the row house," another recent article in the architectural press still goes on. "But (*but*) there are also lovely, leafy neighborhoods of detached houses looking for all the world like mature suburbs within the city," it says of Washington, D.C. For all the brownstone addicts and urbanites, then, the mentality of the old genealogical elite persists. The great purifiers of the first generation still persuade the second to rip off the Victorian annex in futile pursuit of the Colonial "original," ignoring the flux that is the true meaning of history.

Complete restoration is, in fact, impossible and the attempt is both costly and coy: shutters that don't work, lumpy pseudo-old glass, brick scrubbed until all the blemishes of time are glazed off are neither affordable nor alive. Only a few aristocrats can buy and refurbish a Nantucket and only blatant commercialism will maintain a lost village of the old West as a ghost town. Such places do not enrich our lives as a whole. They are hothouses.

Of 15,000 buildings listed in the National Register in 1945, almost half have fallen to greed and false notions of progress. Saving 7,500 is still a job. But even that number should not suffice a second generation of preservationists: what good is the single splendid structure on the old plaza if the backdrop structures whose walls and façades *form* the structure are flattened, or if a high rise destroys the scale of the neighborhood?

To save neighborhoods and places—the total environment—we must begin to learn how to incorporate them into the new. Architects have been singularly deficient in that kind of accommodation. It is a tough task: to carry on "adaptive reuse" we need craftsmen trained to fit into the handiwork of old craftsmen, designers able to slot new plans into old. On the larger political scale, we must go beyond designating historic buildings and historic districts that rope off too few special areas. We need new inventions from our legal and business minds: the zoning shuffle spelled out in John Costonis' *Space Adrift* shifts bonuses in height from old low architecture to other areas in downtowns where land is dear. More theorists should follow his lead and look for planning devices beyond the physical limits of downtown.

Meanwhile, alas, the bell ringers of the last decades still have too many bells to ring: a historic Hartford department store by H.H. Richardson, many Frank Lloyd Wright buildings, old churches and waterfront structures come across my desk in frantic mailings. The alarm is genuine and distressing. Though it is easier than ever before to galvanize the press and public, the need for such struggles and the occasional victory should only partially salve the consciences of a second generation of preservationists: a decade of "successful" fragments amid the larger failings of our environment should prove the need to enlarge historical and architectural criteria to cover a total society and create total life-supporting places. □

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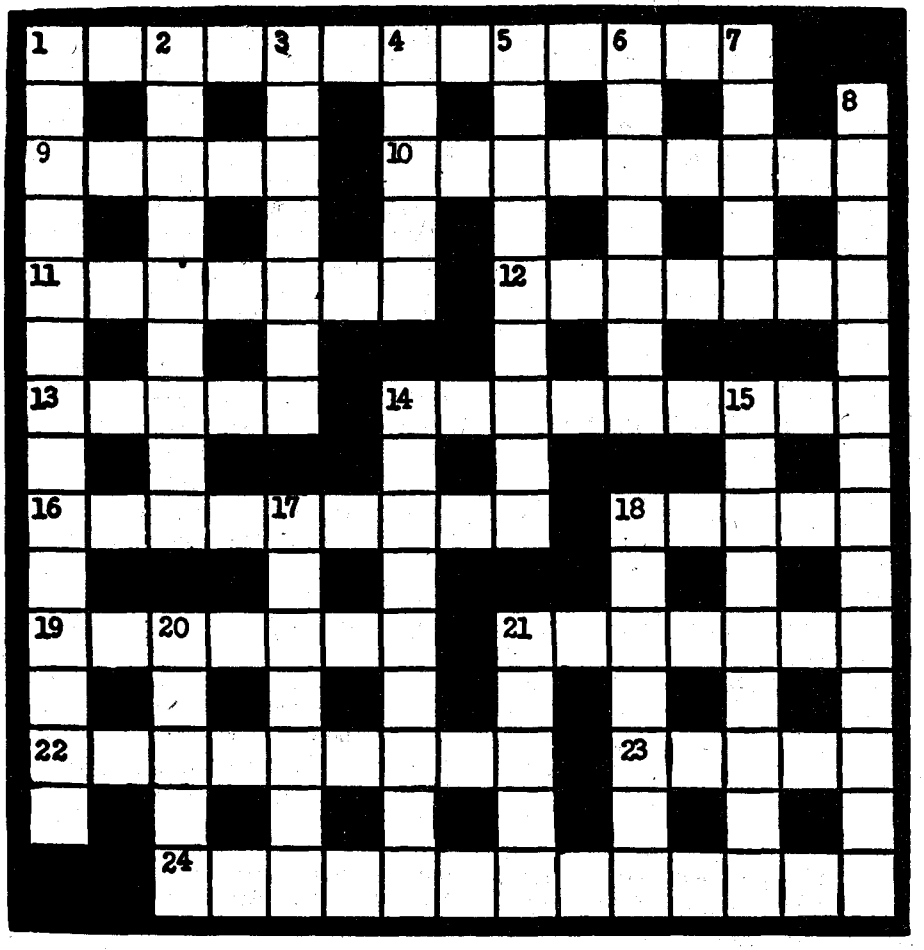
Crossword Puzzle No. 1561

FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 What many a politician has made could reach a wide audience as a system. (6,7)
9 Both kinds may have representative colors. (5)
10 However, is it regardless of the cost? (2,3,4)
11 Pulled back in so regressive a manner, and yet directed to a point in advance. (7)
12 Crooked dealing, but that's the way some groups are! (7)
13 Is cut, in fact broken up, with a stroke. (5)
14 A refrigerant has identical return in it, if one is in order. (9)
16 Are there two lines to bend on, with such things? (9)
18 Subject to less than half the picture? (5)
19 Such things might give you a lift. (7)
21 Male or female is so much for the French, which might give you at least one angle! (7)
22 One might be under the masthead. (9)
23 Nothing in this city could make the zodiac possible! (5)
24 Something for breakfast seems less cool for the essayist. (6,2,5)

DOWN

1 They have elements of something quite different from the Sheraton or Chippendale era, typically. (8,6)
2 It implies a naval reverse, perhaps, quite apart from its being a scene of no activity. (9)
3 The business that does, probably has a policy covering your case. (7)
4 Collect something that Stravinsky wrote, as well as others. (5)
5 Certainly not quick in front, though going straight that way. (4,5)
6 One can't say there isn't a blessed situation for the 5 here! (7)
7 One way to take a spin in the country? (5)
8 Big shot, rather than a native usher? (7,7)
14 Certainly not the 2 of action, but not exactly a non-trifle. (5,4)
15 Possibly coming from Iberia. (9)
17 Captivate with a sermon's content. (7)
18 You might find one in the ranks, though it could be hailed as such. (7)
20 Does the willow pattern have a sort of rose about one? (5)
21 Does it imply going off together? (5)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 1560

ACROSS: 1 Pencil sharpener; 9 Ease off; 10 Airguns; 11 Stroll; 12 Kickshaw; 14 Demand note; 15 Cyst; 17 Oboe; 19 Screen test; 22 Motor oil; 23 Raceme; 25 Nominee; 26 Regatta; 27 Yellowstone Park. DOWN: 1 Pressed for money; 2 Nostrum; 3 Iron lung; 4 Safe; 5 Acacia tree; 6 Peruke; 7 Naughty; 8 Rise with the lark; 13 Inscribers; 16 Entangle; 18 Optimal; 20 Electra; 21 Pronto; 24 Argo.

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